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HISTORY OF GREECE,

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AND OF THE GREEK PEOPLE,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

By VICTOR DURUY,

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"STUDIES AND RAMBLES IN GREECE," ETC.

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VICTOR DURUY.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

EIGHTH PERIOD.

THE ACHAIAN LEAGUE (272-146 B. C.).

POWERLESS EFFORTS FOR UNION AND SAFETY.

CHAPTER XXXV.

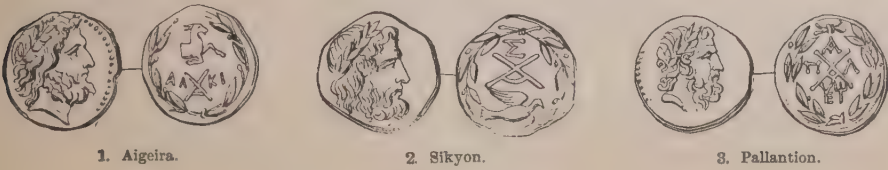
FROM THE DEATH OF PYRRHOS TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE ROMANS IN
GREECE (272-214 B. C.).

I. — THE ACHAIAN AND AITOLIAN LEAGUES.

ATHENS, Sparta, and Thebes have fallen; two peoples, hitherto unknown, now enter upon the stage which has been left vacant, but is narrowed and strewn with ruins,—the Achaians and the Aitolians.

The northern shore of the Peloponnesos is a narrow strip of ground enclosed between the Gulf of Corinth and the chain of mountains which bound Arkadia on the north. Its fertility is in no way remarkable except near Sikyon. Its streams, very numerous, descend in straight lines from the mountains to the coast. The shore, more indented than on the west of the Peloponnesos, lets the sea enter to the foot of the mountains which are its southern boundary. But what markets could the commerce of these cities have? Would it seek them in Elis, or in Arkadia? What means of communication were there in its mountainous interior? Moreover, Corinth, much better situated, early attracted to herself all the commerce of the gulf, which passed by the Achaians and left them neither wealth nor luxury. They lived poor, but united. Herodotos tells us that in very remote antiquity Aigialeia had a confederation of twelve cities. It was an Ionian country, and the mystic number

twelve recurs in it. If obscurity signifies happiness, these cities were long fortunate. In the midst of the sanguinary discords of



COINS OF THE ACHAIAN LEAGUE.¹

Greece, no doubt attention was sometimes directed towards the calm and peaceful condition they owed to their poverty, their good morals



1. Pheneus.



2. Kleitor.



3. Tegea.



4. Heraia.

COINS OF ARKADIAN CITIES.²

and good institutions, since many cities of Magna Græcia, we know, imitated, after the massacre of the Pythagoreans, the laws and government of Achaia.

¹ 1. Laurelled head of Zeus Homagyrios, right profile. Reverse: AAKI (supposed to be Alkibiades); fore-part of a goat, to the right, symbol of the name of Aigeira; underneath, the monogram AX [Αχαίων]; the whole in a laurel-wreath. (Bronze.) 2. Laurelled head of Zeus Homagyrios, right profile. Reverse: Σ, initial of Sikyon, the monogram AX [αιών], and a dove, symbol of the mint-mark of Sikyon; the whole in a laurel-wreath. (Silver.) — 3. Laurelled head of Zeus Homagyrios, right profile. Reverse: ΠΑΛ [παλτίων]; the monogram AX [αιών], the trident, symbol of Pallantion, and monogram of a magistrate's name; the whole in a laurel-wreath. (Silver.)

² 1. Head of Demeter with a wreath of wheat-ears, right profile. Reverse: ΦΕΝΕΩΝ; Hermes going to the left; he wears the petasos, and holds the caduceus in his right hand; on the left arm he carries, wrapped in his mantle, the young Arkas, at whose side in minute letters is the name ΑΡΚΑΣ. (Silver.) 2. ΚΑΕΙΤΟ; one of the Dioskouroi, Kastor or Polydeukes, on horseback, galloping to the left (on this type, see Pausanias, viii. 21, 4). Reverse: a wheel with eight spokes. (Silver.) 3. Gorgon's head, front face, with extended tongue; above, the letter T, initial of the name Tegea. Reverse: three E's, mark of the tribemiobolion. (Silver.) 4. Diademed head of Here, right profile. Reverse: ΕΡΑ [έων] in a square edged with a beading. (Silver.)

Achaia cannot be congratulated on having remained outside of the national struggle against the Persians, and it would have pleased her if Sparta and Athens had left her the repose she loved. This was cruelly interrupted by the Peloponnesian war, which tolerated no neutrals. Patras declared for Athens, Pellene for Sparta; and the Dorian influence extended over the other cities. The confederation was already endangered. It was still further imperilled



ENTRANCE TO THE GULF OF CORINTH.¹

when the kings of Macedon came, who appeared to wish to punish the Achaians for having fought against them at Chaironeia with Athens, and in 330 B. C. at Mantinea with Sparta. Achaia was so enfeebled that it could not take part in the Lamian war. The number of its cities was reduced to ten after an earthquake in 373 B. C. had destroyed Helike, the ancient capital, and Olenos had been abandoned by its inhabitants. Demetrios, Kassandros, Antigonos Gonatas, in turn garrisoned some of the Achaian cities, and gave others up to tyrants; "for from this Antigonos," says Polybios, "came all the tyrants of Greece."

¹ From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*. At the right is the site of Patras, and farther off the promontory Rhion; at the left, the promontory Antirrhion.

About the year 280 B.C. the Achaians took advantage of the disasters of Macedon to set themselves free and to reconstruct their league.

"The first cities that united were Dyme, Patras, Tritaia, and Pharai. Five years after, the people of Aigai put to death their Macedonian garrison and joined the confederacy. Then the Bouraians destroyed their tyrant, and the tyrant of Keryneia abdicated. Leontion, Aigeira, and Pellene completed the union of the Achaian cities. But this confederation was still very feeble until Aratos introduced into it the important city of Sikyon." (Polybios.)

BRONZE COIN.¹

Sikyon had formerly been governed by the Dorian aristocracy. The fall of that party was followed by a prolonged state of disorder, out of which at last emerged tyrants. On the death of one of these, Kleon, the city recovered her independence, and placed the government in the hands of two esteemed citizens, Timokles and Kleinias. The former dying, a cer-

BRONZE COIN.²

tain Abantidas seized the tyranny, put Kleinias to death, and endeavored also to destroy Aratos, his son, a child seven years old. The boy, saved by the tyrant's own sister, took refuge in Argos, where his father's friends received him. He remained there thirteen years, quite indifferent to the teaching of the philosophers, but very assiduous in gymnastic exercises. He excelled in them, and was victorious in the five contests of the pentathlon. His figure was that of an athlete, but in character he was wise and considerate, taking pleasure both in politics and war, in ambuscades and surprises; fearing the conspicuous action, the rapid decisions, and the direct advance of war

SILVER COIN.³

¹ Coin of Helike. ΕΑΙΚ[αίων]; diademed head of Poseidon, right profile, in a circle of curved lines, indicating the waves of the sea. Reverse: trident between two dolphins; the whole in a laurel-wreath.

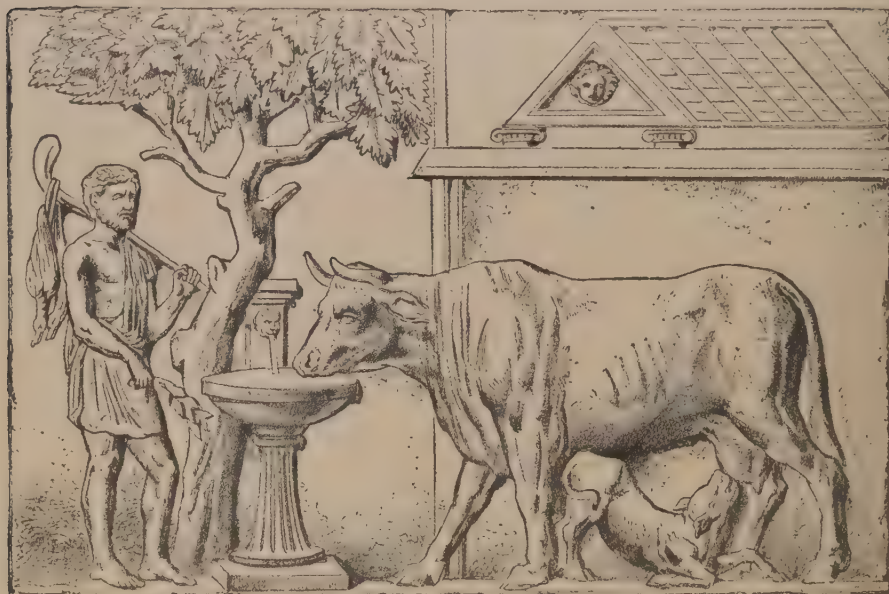
² Coin of Dyme. Diademed female head, right profile. Reverse: ΔΥΜΑ[ίον]; fish, to the right.

³ Coin of the Achaian League at Patras. Laurelled head of Zeus Homagyrrios, right profile. Reverse: ΑΧ[αίων], in monogram; at the right, ΠΑ[τραίων], two monograms of magistrates' names, and a dolphin, mint-mark of Patras; the whole in a laurel-wreath.

in the field: a brave soldier, but a poor general; a great citizen, but perhaps a bad statesman.

From boyhood Aratos had cherished the hope of returning to his native city and freeing it from the tyrants who had successively ruled over it.

“While he was considering,” says Plutarch, “how to seize some post in the territories of Sikyon whence he might prosecute hostilities against



PEASANT ON HIS WAY TO MARKET ¹

the tyrant, a man of Sikyon arrived at Argos who had escaped out of prison. Being introduced to Aratos, he informed him that the part of the wall which he had gotten over was almost level with the ground on the inside as it joined upon a high, rocky part of the city, and that on the outside it was not so high but that it might be scaled. Upon this Aratos sent two of his servants to reconnoitre the wall, . . . who at their return reported that it was neither impracticable nor difficult, but that the attempt would be dangerous, on account of some dogs kept by a gardener, which were indeed little, but at the same time extremely fierce and furious.

¹ Marble relief discovered at Otricoli and now in the Vatican; from Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, vol. v. pl. 33. Peasant leading a cow and calf to the city, also carrying ducks. He has stopped at a fountain near the wall of a little sanctuary to water the cow, and in his right hand holds a branch of a tree, — no doubt to drive away the flies. The cow is suckling her calf. For this latter group, cf. the coin of Korkyra, Vol. III. p. 254.

"Aratos, however, immediately set about the work. It was easy to provide arms without suspicion, for almost everybody went armed, by reason of the frequent robberies, and the incursions of one people into the territories of another. And as to the scaling-ladders, Euphranor, who was an exile from Sikyon and a carpenter by trade, made them publicly, his business screening him from suspicion. Each of the friends of Aratos in Argos furnished him with ten men; he armed thirty of his own servants, and hired some few soldiers of Xenophilos, who was captain of a band of robbers. To the latter it was given out that the design of their march to Sikyon was to carry off the king's stud; and several of them were sent before by different roads to the tower of Polygnotos, with orders to wait for him there. Five others were sent to go in the evening to the

BRONZE COIN.¹DRACHMA.²SILVER COIN.³

gardener's house, and representing themselves as travellers, to get a lodging there, after which they were to confine both him and his dogs; for that part of the wall was not accessible in any other way. The ladders, being made to take in pieces, were packed up in corn-chests, and sent before in wagons.

"In the mean time some of the tyrant's spies arrived at Argos, and it was reported that they were skulking about to watch the motions of Aratos. Next morning, therefore, Aratos appeared early with his friends in the market-place, and talked with them for some time. He then went to the Gymnasion, and after he had anointed himself, took with him some young men from the wrestling-ring who used to be of his parties of pleasure, and returned home. In a little time his servants were seen in the market-place, some carrying wreaths of flowers, some buying flambeaux, and some talking with the women who used to sing and play at entertainments. These manœuvres deceived the spies; they laughed, and said to each other: 'Can any one be more cowardly than a tyrant, since Nikokles, who is master of so strong a city and armed with so much power,

¹ Coin of Aigion. ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ; laurelled head of Zeus Homagryrios, right profile. Reverse: ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟC; in the field, the monogram AX[aiōn]; the whole in a laurel-wreath. Eckhel thinks it possible that this Aristodemos is the one sent by Antigonos to Aigion, where the Macedonians had established a body of troops.

² Coin of the Achaian League before the time of Aratos. Laurelled head of Zeus Homagryrios, right profile. Reverse: AX[aiōn], in monogram, in a laurel-wreath.

³ Coin of Sikyon, with Corinthian types. Nymph's head, left profile; before the head, ΣΙ[κωνίων]; behind it, ΚΟΡ[υθαίων], in monogram. Reverse: Pegasus leaping to the left

lives in fear of a young man who wastes the pittance he has for his support in exile in drinking and revelling even in the daytime.' And they returned to their master.

"Then Aratos, as soon as he had ended the banquet, set out for the tower of Polygnotos; and joining the soldiers who were awaiting him there, he proceeded to Nemea, where he disclosed his real intentions to the whole company. Having exhorted them to behave like brave men and promised

them great rewards, he gave 'Propitious Apollo' for the word, and led them forward towards Sikyon, governing his march according to the motion of the moon, so as to have the benefit of her light by the way, and to come to the garden by the wall just after she was set. There his messenger met him and informed him that the dogs were let out before he arrived, but that he had secured the gardener. Most of the company were greatly dispirited at this account, and begged Aratos to abandon his enterprise; but he encouraged them by promising to desist if the dogs should prove very troublesome. Then he ordered those



CAMEO.¹

who carried the ladders to go before, and himself followed softly. The dogs now began to run about and bark violently; but the party approached the wall and planted their ladders. The foremost of them were mounting when the officer who was to be relieved by the morning guard passed that way with many torches and much noise. Upon this the men laid themselves close to their ladders and escaped the notice of this watch without much difficulty; but when the other, which was to relieve it, came up, they were in the utmost danger. However, that, too, passed by without observing them; after which two of the party mounted the wall, and having secured the way both to the right and left, sent to desire Aratos to advance as fast as possible.

¹ This cameo (now in the Museum of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg) was given by the Empress Josephine to Alexander I., Emperor of Russia, on occasion of his visit to Malmaison in 1814. It is generally understood, according to the opinion of Visconti, to represent Ptolemy Philadelphos and one of his two wives, who were both named Arsinoë; but this is not absolutely certain. See an article by Chabouillet in the *Gazette archeol.* of 1885, p. 397.

"It was no great distance from the garden to the wall and to a tower in which was placed a great hunting-dog to alarm the guard. But whether he was naturally drowsy, or had wearied himself the day before, he did not perceive their entrance. But the gardener's dogs awaking him by barking below, he began to growl; and when Aratos's men passed by the tower he barked out so that the whole place resounded with the noise. Then the sentinel, who kept watch opposite the tower, called aloud to the huntsman and asked him whom the dog barked at so angrily, and if anything had happened. The huntsman answered from the tower that there was nothing extraordinary, and that the dog had been disturbed at the torches of the guard and the noise of the bell. This encouraged the party more than anything else; for they imagined that the huntsman concealed the truth because he had a secret understanding with Aratos, and that there were many others in the town who would promote their design. When, however, the rest of their companions came to scale the wall, the danger increased. It appeared to be a long affair, because the ladders shook and swung extremely if they did not mount them softly and one by one; and the time pressed, for the cocks began to crow. The country people, too, who kept the market, were expected to arrive every moment.

"Aratos therefore hastened up himself, when only forty of his company were upon the wall; and when a few more had joined him from below, he put himself at the head of his men and marched immediately to the tyrant's palace, where the main guard was kept, and where the mercenaries passed the night under arms. Coming suddenly upon them, he took them prisoners without killing one man, and then sent to his friends in the town to invite them to come and join him. They ran to him from all quarters; and day now appearing, the theatre was filled with a crowd of people who stood in suspense; for they had only heard a rumor and had no certainty of what was doing, till a herald came and proclaimed it in these words: 'Aratos, the son of Kleinias, calls the citizens to liberty.'

"Then, persuaded that the day they had so long expected was come, they rushed in multitudes to the palace of the tyrant and set fire to it. The flame was so strong that it was seen as far as Corinth, and the Corinthians, wondering what might be the cause, were on the point of going to render assistance. Nikokles escaped out of the city by subterranean passages, and the soldiers, having helped the Sikyonians to extinguish the fire, plundered his palace. Nor did Aratos hinder them from taking this booty; but the rest of the wealth which the several tyrants had amassed he bestowed upon the citizens. There was not so much as one man killed or wounded in this action on either side; fortune so conducting the enterprise as not to sully it with the blood of one citizen. Aratos recalled eighty persons who had been banished by Nikokles, and of those

that had been expelled by the former tyrants not less than five hundred. The latter had long been forced to wander from place to place, some of them full fifty years; consequently most of them returned in a destitute condition. They were now, indeed, restored to their ancient possessions, but their recovery of houses and lands which had found new masters laid Aratos under great difficulties; . . . for they would not be satisfied with anything less than the restitution of their estates, and gave the present possessors so much trouble that the city was in danger of being ruined by sedition."

This story shows us one side of the political life of Greece,—a band of exiles returning to seize upon their city. The occurrence was not infrequent, and was followed usually by spoliation, caused by the recovery of the exiles' property; so that another set of proscribed persons went away, themselves to return, also by violence, on the first favorable occasion. This time Aratos succeeded in obtaining from Ptolemy a gift of twenty-five talents, which he employed in indemnifying those who had suffered, thus preventing animosities and the outbreak of new disturbances (251 B. C.).

On the part of Ptolemy this service was self-interested. The Egyptian saw with displeasure the influence of the king of Macedon in Greece; to interfere with his advance, and to keep him constantly occupied, he supported all whom he regarded as enemies of the Macedonians. Aratos had eagerly accepted the proffered support.

At the period under consideration it was impossible for a city long to remain isolated and independent. Aratos saw that Antigonus made approaches to Sikyon as to a prey. This king had made himself master of Athens after a war, or rather a siege, of six years, bravely endured by the Athenians (263 B. C.), and he also possessed Corinth; Sikyon therefore seemed to be his next point of attack. To save it, Aratos saw no other means than to incorporate it into the Achaian League, feeble at that time certainly, but to be made of considerable importance by the acquisition of Sikyon. The territory of the city was adjacent to that of the Achaians, so that nothing could be more natural than this alliance. It was made on a basis of perfect equality, although Sikyon was much more powerful than any city of the league; but in uniting with it for the sake of obtaining help, she was in a position to accept, and not to make, conditions.

This league was, after the Olynthian confederation,¹ the second attempt seriously made in Greece to secure, by political union, the protection of several cities. The following is a summary of the constitution agreed upon, — so far, at least, as the very insufficient and often contradictory details furnished by ancient writers enable us to determine it.

The supreme power was vested in the general assembly, to which all men over thirty years of age were admitted, with the right of speaking, and proposing any measure. This assembly decided on peace or war, made or rejected alliances, regulated the affairs of the confederation, appointed the higher magistrates, and fixed the amount of money to be raised by taxation, also the number of the federal army when it was necessary to have one. The votes were given by cities, not by individuals, so that the assembly was a truly representative one, in which it was not necessary for all the citizens of each city to be present, since a few could save the vote of their people from being lost.³ But these few persons, who had leisure

DEMETER.²SILVER COIN.⁴

and means to leave home and present themselves in the assembly, would naturally be those in easy circumstances; hence the conservative and moderate character of this democracy. The place of meeting was originally Helike; but

after the destruction of that city the assembly met at Aigion, in a grove consecrated to Zeus, and near the temple of the Panachaean Demeter. Polybios, however, shows us the assembly gathered also at Kleitor, at Sikyon, at Corinth, and at Megalopolis; and to Philopoimen is attributed the proposition, which seems to have been agreed to, that it should meet in turn in every city of the con-

¹ See Vol. III. p. 535.

² Demeter seated, holding wheat-ears, and with turret-crowned head; at her feet, a lion. (Red jasper. Height, 13 millim.; breadth, 10 millim. Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 1,618.)

³ This explains the expression of Livy (xxxiii. 22), *principes Achaeorum*, without having recourse to the hypothesis of Hellwing that there were deputies or delegates from each city. The assembly was not a meeting of delegates, for Polybios says (xxix. 9, 6) that every citizen over thirty years of age might attend and vote; but when only a few from any city were present, they were, in point of fact, the representatives of that city.

⁴ Coin of Kleitor. Radiate head of the Sun, front view. Reverse: ΚΑΗ[ιτροπιῶν]; bull threatening with his horns to the right; above, a centaur brandishing a branch of a tree.

federation. There were two sessions annually, — in the spring, and in the autumn. On occasions of importance the supreme magistrate could convoke the assembly. It deliberated only upon questions proposed by a majority of the magistrates, and the members who attended seem to have received compensation, like the *tesserae* which were given at Athens.¹ Each session lasted three days.



BAS-RELIEF OF KLEITOR.²

The principal officers of the confederacy were: a governing senate, concerning which very little is known, and whose existence even has been doubted; a council of ten *demiourgoi*, — twelve in number before the destruction of Helike, which proves that they were, at least originally, representatives of the cities, since their number varied with the varying number of towns; and lastly, the *strategos*, the supreme magistrate (who before 255 B. C. had a colleague); this officer kept the seal of the confederacy, was in command of the military forces, called together and presided over the assembly.

The other magistrates were the *hipparchos* (commander of cavalry,) the *hypostrategos* (possibly the same magistracy under two names), and the *grammateus* (public secretary).

¹ Polybios, xxii. 10, 3.

² Bas-relief of marble of Doliana, discovered at Kleitor; from the *Mittheilungen d. d. arch. Instit. in Athen*, vol. vi. (1881) pl. 5. — Milchhöfer (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1881, p. 153) proposes for this warrior the name of the historian Polybios, the son of Lykortas; but his reasons, though plausible and interesting, are not convincing. We know that after the taking of Corinth (146 B. C.) many grateful cities erected monuments to the historian, and on the frieze of the bas-relief of Kleitor can be made out the fragment of a metric inscription, the beginning of the second line: ἀντὶ καλῶν ἔργων εἰσάρο . . . Now these words are also found on an inscription at Olympia, engraved in honor of a certain Polybios, son of Lykortas. That this Polybios is not the historian is evident from the fact that the inscription is dated in the

The spirit which animated this league is shown by Polybios in the following passage:—

“In times past many had tried to persuade the Peloponnesians to unite; but as they acted much more in view of their separate interests than for the common liberty, division continued. Now, on the contrary, harmony is so fortunately established that among them there is not merely alliance and friendship, but the same laws, the same weights and measures, the same coinage, the same magistrates, senators, and judges. In a word, with the one exception that all the Peloponnesian peoples are not residents of the same city, there is perfect uniformity and equality among them.

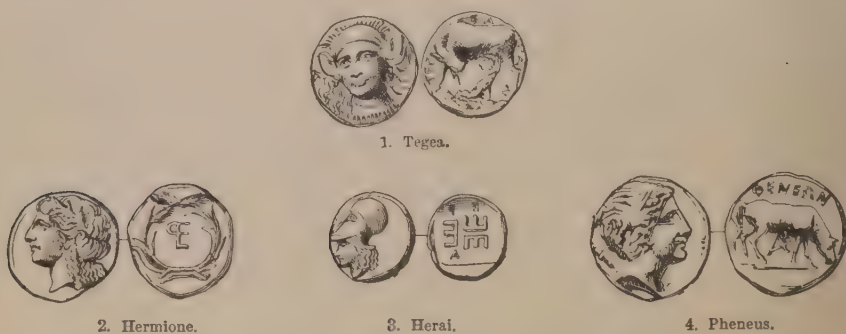
“In what manner did the Achaian name become dominant in the Peloponnesos? It was not certainly from the extent of the country, the number of the cities, the wealth or the courage of the inhabitants, for the Achaians possess none of these advantages over other nations. Arkadia and Lakonia are more extensive and have a larger population, and their inhabitants are inferior to none in valor. Whence comes it then that at this day it is an honor for the Arkadians, for Lacedæmon, and for the whole Peloponnesos to have adopted the laws of the Achaians and to fear their name? To attribute this to chance would be absurd. We shall do better to inquire into the cause, since without a cause nothing is done, either good or ill. Now this cause, in my opinion, is that there is no State where equality, liberty, in a word, a perfect democracy, is found more pure and unmixed than that of the Achaians. Among the nations of the Peloponnesos composing this confederacy there are some who, at first, presented themselves; others, in greater number, needed to have it shown them that it was for their interest to enter it; and it was necessary to use violence to bring in others, who, immediately after, were very glad to have been thus constrained, for the original members had no privileges above those who were the last to come in. All was equal, for the latter as for the former. Thus the confederacy attained its ends by two power-

Christian era; but, struck by the identity of names and of the epigram, and justly convinced that the bas-relief of Kleitor is not of earlier date than the second century B. C., Milchhofer goes so far as to suppose that we have in this one of the monuments erected in 146 B. C. in honor of the great historian, and that he is represented armed is due to the fact that he had been *hipparchos*. This ingenious hypothesis has been sharply contested. It is urged (Friederichs-Wolters, *Gypsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, pp. 728-9) that no inference can be drawn from the similarity of names or from the epigram, the names Polybios and Lykortas being widely spread in the Peloponnesos, and the epigram, which is thought to allude to the services rendered by the historian, only an often-repeated formula which may apply to many persons. Furthermore, the warrior of Kleitor is a young man; Polybios was sixty years of age in 146 B. C. And, in conclusion, without insisting on the armor of the warrior, which is that of a foot-soldier, while Polybios was a commander of cavalry, is this military attire suited to the part played by Polybios?

ful means,—equality and mildness. It is to these two things that the Peloponnesians owe that perfect union which gives them the prosperity that we now see them enjoying.”

Thus Greece found at her latest moment that which she had never had,—equality and union among the cities. Unhappily it came too late. There was equality, because there was no longer a strong nation; there was union, because everywhere there was weakness.

A question, to which neither Polybios nor any ancient historian gives an answer, is concerning the relations existing between the confederacy and its members. The cities retained their municipal



COINS OF THE CITIES OF THE ACHAIAN LEAGUE.¹

administration and a certain liberty of action so long as the general interests of the league were not thereby interfered with. The statements of Polybios in regard to the uniformity of their interior *régime* have also been called in question. Each city still had its two factions, democratic and aristocratic; and its union with the Achaian League must doubtless have been preceded or followed, without direct intervention of the confederates, by the triumph of one or other of these two parties. Thus in the days when Sparta and Athens were rivals, a domestic revolution in a State brought that State into alliance with one or the other city,

¹ 1. Head of Pallas, front face, wearing a helmet with a triple aigrette (τρίλοφος). Reverse: ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ (legend defaced). The infant Telephos kneeling, suckled by a hind. (Bronze.) 2. Head of Demeter, with a wreath of wheat-ears, left profile. Reverse: ΕΡ[μινέων], in monogram, surrounded by a wreath formed of two wheat-ears. (Silver.) 3. Head of Pallas, with a Corinthian helmet, left profile. Reverse: ΕΡΑ[έων] in retrograde legend; in the field, three E's, mark of the trihemiobolion. (Silver.) 4. Head of Artemis, Εὐρίππη, right profile, diademed, and having the quiver on her shoulder. Reverse: ΦΕΝΕΩΝ. Horse feeding to the right; underneath, a monogram composed of the letters APK. (Bronze.)

according to the party which was victorious. The character of the Achaian League and of its great men, all hostile to demagoguery and to tyrants, — two dangerous forces, naturally allies of each other, — leads us to think that it was the aristocratic faction which more readily inclined towards the Achaians, while the other, on the contrary, sought assistance from the Aitolians.¹



COINS OF THE AITOLIANS.²

These cities formed a confederation in certain respects similar to the Achaian League. There was a general assembly, to which it is probable only men of mature age were admitted. This assembly, the Panaitolikon, met every year at Thermon in the autumn, when it decided as to peace and war, and elected magistrates for the ensuing year. Besides this annual assembly there was a permanent council of *apokletoi*, or deputies, resembling that of the *demiourgoi* in Achaia, but more numerous. The chief magistrate

¹ At Opous, in 197 B. C., the people call in the Aitolians, and the rich drive them away (Livy, xxxii. 32). At Keos, in Bithynia, the people rule, and the city is under Aitolian influence (Polyb., xv. 21–23).

² 1. Head of Pallas, with a Corinthian helmet, right profile. Reverse: ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ; the Genius of Aitolia, wearing the *kausia*, the *chiton*, and the *chlamys* and *endromides* (boots); he is seated on a pile of shields, leans with the right hand on his lance, and holds upon his left a Victory, extending to him a wreath; in the field, a monogram. (Gold.) 2. Youthful head of Aitolos, right profile. Reverse: ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ; spear-head and jaw-bone of the Kalydonian boar; in the field, a bunch of grapes and the mint-mark EI. (Bronze.) 3. Laurelled head of Artemis, right profile, with the bow and quiver on her shoulder: behind, ΦΙ. initials of a magistrate's name. Reverse: ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ; Aitolia personified, seated to the right, on a heap of bucklers, and leaning on a long sceptre; before her, a trophy; in the field, the letter Δ. (Silver.) 4. Youthful head of Aitolos, wearing the petasos, right profile. Reverse: ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ; spear-head; under it a bunch of grapes. (Bronze.) 5. Youthful head of Aitolos, wearing the petasos, right profile. Reverse: ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ; the wild boar of Kalydon, to the right; in the exergue a spear-head. (Silver.)

was also the *strategos*, commander-in-chief of the military forces; and below him were the *hipparchos*, the *grammateus*, and other officers. The Aitolian League contained cities very remote from each other, and without doubt left them great liberty of action; but to what extent we cannot say. The expression *συντελεῖν εἰς τὸ Αἰτωλικόν* shows only that their allies, like those of the Athenians two centuries earlier, had relinquished a part of their independence. Finally, all rights and duties were not perfectly defined, and among these cities there were still, as there had been among the cities formerly subject to Athens, many different conditions. In some there were an Aitolian garrison and governor.

The Aitolians were, like the Achaians, a new people.—in this sense, at least, that they were of still unimpaired vitality. By their position near the western frontier of Greece, among the mountains and in the neighborhood of barbarous tribes, they had preserved the rude manners and the predatory habits which in the rest of Hellas had ceased centuries earlier. The former mistresses of Greece—Sparta, Athens, and Thebes—having fallen, and the Macedonian power being much reduced, the Aitolians now took the place left vacant. Wherever war broke out, like birds of prey drawn by the scent of blood they appeared, pillaging friends and enemies alike. And when they were called upon to renounce this savage custom, “We would rather take Aitolia from Aitolia,” they said, “than prevent our warriors from carrying off spoils.” This was worse than the wrecker’s trade; and they exercised it far away in the Peloponnesos, in Thessaly, and in Epeiros. In 218 B. C. their *strategos*, Dorimachos, sacked the most renowned sanctuary of Greece after Delphi, the temple of Dodona, which never recovered from that disaster. An inscription mentions a prize-court established among them.

The picture that Polybios draws of this people is not at all flattering; but the wise Polybios was an Achaian and of the aristocratic party, hence the mortal enemy of the Aitolians, who sought support from the democracy, and owed to it their fortune. We may therefore believe that, while saying nothing untrue of them, he has made them out as bad as the facts would allow. They had one virtue, which in those days was uncommon in Greece.—they never refused to their country the services she asked; they were ready

to fight with the invading Gauls, Macedonians, and Romans, and they were able to conquer. The Aitolian League, more strongly organized than any other in Greece, subordinated the cities to the general assembly, and hence held the confederates more closely bound to one another. From this there resulted for the league much influence on foreign affairs, because its action was more vigorous and its designs were better carried out. Its confederates were numerous; it had them in the Peloponnesos and as far as the coasts of Thrace and even of Asia Minor, — as Lysimachia, Chalkedon, and



AITOLIAN COAST, SEEN FROM PATRAS.¹

Chios. In Central Greece the league held Thermopylai, Lokris, Phokis, and the southern part of Thessaly. But this power, instead of being serviceable to Greek liberty, turned against it; because it could not be that the Aitolian League, with its principles of government and its rules of action, should ever be the pivot of a general confederation. That which Sparta had once been for the Peloponnesos, Aitolia, on the other side, was for the whole of Greece; namely, a continual menace. To complete the resemblance, the strategos Skopas — like Kleomenes, the reactionary king of new Lacedæmon — desired to abolish debts and to make laws favorable to the poor. From fear of Sparta, Aratos gave up the Peloponnesos to Macedon; and when Philip declared himself the enemy of Rome, the Romans found in the Aitolians most useful allies. They opened

¹ From Stackelberg. *La Grèce*.

to him Central Greece, and their numerous cavalry perhaps secured to Flamininus his victory at Kynoskephalai.¹

Among the Achæians public morals had a better tone, and their chiefs — Aratos, Philopoimen, Lykortas, the father of Polybios — truly desired the welfare of Greece. In place of seeking this — as Athens, Sparta, and Macedon had done — in a sway enforced by arms, the Achæian leaders hoped to find it in a confederation, whose principle should be that of the ancient Hellenic Amphiktyonies, — the equality of all the States associated. The Achæian League, securing to each of its members the same rights, respecting the individuality of each, yet calling upon all to act in common, seemed sure to make a Greece united, strong, and influential as she had never before been. We shall now see what was in reality its historic *rôle*.

II. — SUCCESS OF THE ACHÆIANS ; AGIS, KING OF SPARTA.

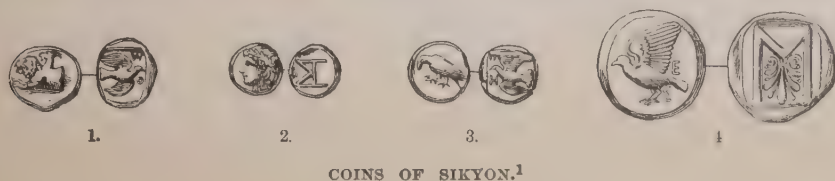
BEFORE uniting with the Achæian League, Sikyon had been menaced by the Aitolians. Aratos, becoming in 246 B. C., at the age of twenty-six, strategos of the confederation, turned its arms against his turbulent adversaries and went to aid Boiotia, which they were attacking. But he arrived too late; the Boiotians had just been defeated with great loss. “Crushed by this disaster,” says Polybios, “they never again dared, after that time, to make any effort to recover their former power or to unite by public decree with the other Greeks in expeditions that were proposed to them. They thought only of eating and drinking, and were so devoted to these pleasures that they became feeble and spiritless.”²

This degradation of the Boiotians gave Central Greece over to the Aitolians, and there was reason to fear that they would invade the Peloponnesos. From 244 B. C. Antigonos held the key to the peninsula, and he was their ally. Aratos, a second time strategos (243 B. C.), seized the Akrokorinthos by a sudden attack, resembling that which had made him master of Sikyon; he restored to

¹ Their country, rough and mountainous, was not well adapted to rearing horses; but the fruitful plains, which sloped downwards to the sea, furnished pasturage for an excellent breed (Livy, xxxiii. 7).

² xx. 4.

the Corinthians the keys of their city, which they had not had since the time of Philip, and caused Corinth to become a member of the league, and also Megara, Troizen, and Epidauros. To detach the Athenians from the king of Macedon, he sent them without ransom some of their fellow-citizens whom he had made prisoners; and, finally, he succeeded in dissipating the jealousy of

COINS OF SIKYON.¹

himself which Antigonos had instilled into the mind of the king of Egypt, and induced the Achaians to appoint Ptolemy Euergetes their general-in-chief on sea and land. This king would thus be obliged to honor the title conferred upon him by furnishing some valuable assistance, while he was at the same time so remote that the protectorate would have in it no element of danger. Aratos remained in fact the true chief of the league. "As the law did not allow him to be elected strategos every year successively, they appointed him to this office every other year; but by the influence which he exercised he was really always at the head of the government."

COIN OF ΤΡΟΙΖΕΝ.²

He continued his war against the demagogy and the tyrants. These men had excited so great hatred that the wise and moderate Polybios says: "Their very name implies all the crimes of which human nature is capable." He even dared to say: "The killing of a tyrant is a title to glory."³ Argos had one at this time, Aristippos, — a true type of jealous tyranny. This man was

¹ 1. Fore-part of the Chimaira, crouching to the left. Reverse: ΣΘ, initials of a magistrate's name; dove flying to the right. (Silver.) 2. Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile. Reverse: ΣΙ[κωνίων] in a monogram. (Silver.) 3. Dove pecking at the ground, to the left. Reverse: Ε and Η, mint-mark; dove flying to the left. (Silver.) 4. ΣΕ[κωνίων]; dove flapping its wings, to the left. Reverse: a large Σ, ornamented with an architectural palm. (Silver.)

² Diademed head of Apollo, left profile. Reverse: ΤΡΟΙΖΕΝ; trident; in the field, at the left, a dolphin. (Bronze.)

³ ii. 59 and 56. In another place (vii. 8) he expresses great surprise that Hiero at Syracuse acquired the supremacy without exiling or putting to death any citizen; "From all that can be seen," he says, "this thing is most extraordinary."

surrounded by his satellites during the day, and at night retired into a high chamber, to which he gained access by a ladder drawn up after him, and through a trap-door upon which he placed his bed. It is easy to understand how cruel a man must be who lives in fears and suspicions like these. Such was, however, the apathetic indifference of the Argives that they did nothing to shake off the yoke. Aratos renewed against Aristippos the attempts he had already made against Aristomachos, his predecessor.



VIEW OF THE AKROKORINTHOS.¹

On one occasion, with a small band of soldiers, he scaled the wall of Argos, and with the least assistance from the inhabitants he would have gained the victory. But the people, "as if he had not been fighting for their liberty," says Plutarch, "and as if they were only spectators at the Nemean Games, sat. very impartial observers of the action, without making the least motion to assist." This defeat decided Aratos to fight outside the walls; but in the open country he lost his confidence, and was repulsed in two battles. In a third engagement, however, he defeated and killed Aristippos. Unfortunately, however, the tyrant's death did

¹ From a photograph. The view is taken from the south.

not at once occasion the downfall of the tyranny; he had a successor, who was perhaps a relative, Aristomachos, the second of that name.

That which he attempted at Argos, Aratos proposed to execute everywhere; and he was so far successful in his endeavors that one of the Greek tyrants, Lydiades, the ruler of Megalopolis, preferred to abdicate rather than live in these perpetual alarms. He sent for Aratos, laid down the power he had assumed, and caused the city to join the Achaian League. The Achaians, as a recompense for this magnanimity, elected him strategos; but they soon had occasion to repent of their action. Lydiades showed himself actuated by a restless ambition, and endeavored to become more prominent than Aratos. He incited the league to an unnecessary quarrel with Sparta. For six years they held the command alternately; but at last the selfishness of the designs of Lydiades became so manifest that Aratos regained the ascendancy.

It was the part of wisdom at this time to deal moderately with Sparta. This was evident when the Aitolians, in 238 B. C., presented themselves at the isthmus of Corinth. Agis, with the Spartan troops, joined the Achaians and wished to offer battle; Aratos opposing this, the Spartan king withdrew in displeasure, and left the passage free to the Aitolians. Aratos, however, gloriously repaired his fault, soon after putting the Aitolians to flight and killing seven hundred of them.

Antigonos Gonatas died in 239 B. C., leaving the throne to his son, Demetrios II. The new king, master of Attika and Phokis, wished to possess also Boiotia, lying between the two. He took it from the Aitolians, thus throwing them into the party of the Achaians. This was the most brilliant period of the league. Being now the ally of Sparta and of Aitolia, and having lately been joined by Corinth and Megalopolis, she was secure from all dangerous influences, and became the centre around which the enemies of Macedon grouped themselves. Her prosperity increased even. Notwithstanding the efforts of Demetrios, Aristomachos was persuaded by Aratos to resign the tyranny of Argos and unite the city to the Achaian League. He agreed to do this on condition that fifty talents should be given him to pay off his troops; and the following year he was rewarded by being elected strategos.

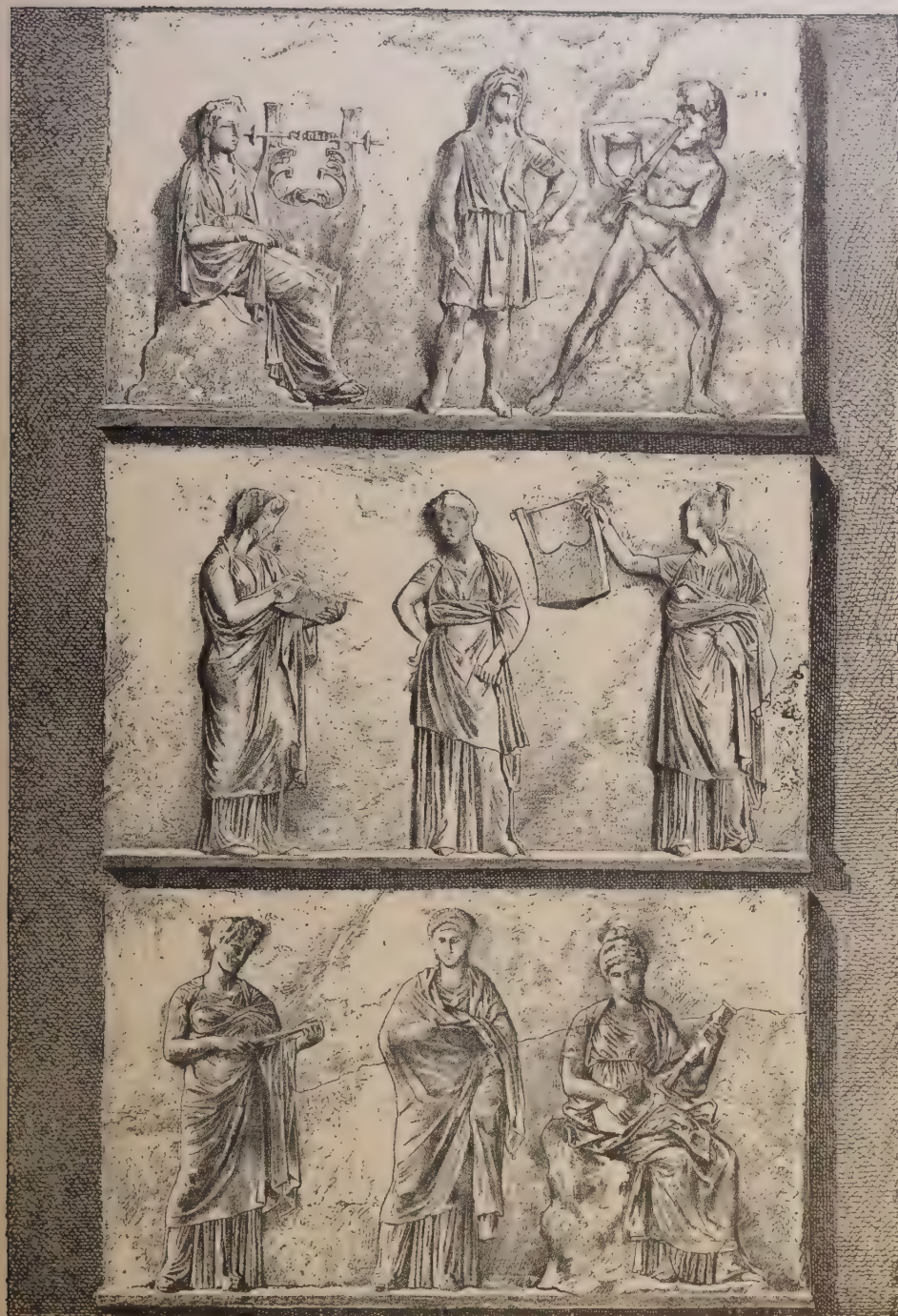
Xeno, the tyrant of Hermione, and Kleonymos, tyrant of Phlious, did the same. The death of Demetrios II., in 233 B. C., is marked by Polybios as the moment when all the petty rulers in the Peloponnesos, deprived of their protector, fell. Most of the Arkadian cities at that time entered the league; Athens, with the assistance of Aratos, expelled her Macedonian garrison, and Aigina also became a member of the confederation. The discords which agitated Macedon under the regency of Antigonos Doson,¹ brother of Demetrios and guardian of his nephew Philip, whom he superseded, the defections all along his frontiers, and his own enterprises outside of Greece and as far even as Karia, allowed the Achaian influence to predominate, almost without counterpoise.

Thus about the year 229 B. C. the Achaians counted as allies or as members of their league² the following States: in Central Greece, Attika, Megara, and Aitolia; in the Peloponnesos, Sparta, Corinth, Sikyon, Argos, and nearly all of Arkadia. This concentration of the strength of Greece, and this progress towards a voluntary union of most of the cities, were necessary to save her independence, always threatened by Macedon; but how much more so to meet the storm which was already rising in the west! In that very same year, 229 B. C., the Romans, under frivolous pretexts, set foot in Illyria. If the Greeks had been able to read the future, what efforts would they not have made to maintain the harmonious relations which seemed to be now established! On the contrary, it was at this very moment that their final separation took place.

¹ *Ἀντίγονος*, surnamed *Δώσω*, because he promised, but did not always give.

² These two very different conditions have been frequently confused with each other. Thus Athens, the Aitolians, and Sparta were allies, not members of the league. Hence the unjustifiable statements that have been made as to the power of the league.

NOTE.—On the opposite page are represented bas-reliefs of white marble discovered in August, 1887, by M. Fougères, in the excavations undertaken by the French School of Athens at Mantinea (from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. xii., 1888, pl. 1-3). Pausanias relates that in the double temple of Mantinea, of which one part was consecrated to Asklepeios and the other to Leto, Apollo, and Artemis, the statues were carved by Praxiteles; the pedestal, he adds, was adorned with a bas-relief representing "the Muses and Marsyas playing the flute" (viii. 9, 1. The text is *Μοῦσα*, but doubtless should be *Μοῦσαι*). And it is exactly this bas-relief which M. Fougères has discovered. It very probably belongs to the fourth century B. C., and was perhaps carved from the designs of Praxiteles.—1. Apollo, a Phrygian slave, and Marsyas. The god is seated to the right: he holds his lyre on his knees with his right hand, and looks at the satyr. The slave, his left hand on his hip, holds in the right hand the knife which is to be used in the punishment of the vanquished player. Marsyas, whose excited attitude contrasts with the repose of Apollo, is playing on the flute. 2 and 3. Three Muses.



BAS-RELIEFS OF MANTINEIA.

It would have been salutary for Greece if at this time life had ceased everywhere except in the league. Under this new political form the whole Hellenic nationality was now sheltered, with the exception of Macedon. But the Aitolians still lived, and Sparta for a moment rallied.

What was called the constitution of Lykourgos was now nothing but a memory. That artificial structure, which had as its basis the principle of an equality of fortunes, and hence the division of territory into a fixed number of lots, had fallen into ruins. The great losses on the battle-field, and the law of the ephor Epitadeos, which permitted a man to dispose of his property by will, had produced a singular result; namely, that the women in the community and a very small number of the citizens held all the property. In the reign of Agis IV. Lacedæmon had but seven hundred citizens of full Spartan race, of whom less than a hundred held any landed property; and in the time of Aristotle two thirds of the territory were in the hands of women.²

SILVER COIN.¹

The multitude, having no longer the necessary means for fulfilling those obligations to which political rights were attached, could take no part in public affairs; hence the government was entirely in the hands of a few rich men. This loss of rank had two disastrous consequences: the poor, always despised, were in the field extremely bad soldiers, and in the city malcontents, always on the alert for an opportunity to throw the State into confusion. Manners had also changed, as a matter of course. King Areos and his son Akrotatos introduced openly into Sparta the luxury of Eastern courts. Sparta was no longer Sparta, but a city like many others, luxurious, idle, corrupt, — a city where were mingled extreme wealth and extreme poverty. Plato asserts that it contained more gold and silver than all the rest of Greece. Accordingly, all things could be bought, — public office, even the judgments of courts of law.

¹ Coin of King Monounios, at Dyrrachion, in Illyria. Cow suckling her calf; above, the jaw-bones of the wild boar of Kalydon. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΟΝΟΥΝΙΟΥ. Two concentric squares adorned with finials, — regarded as conventional representations of the gardens of Alkinoös; at the left, a spear-head; at the right, a club.

² Upon the bad constitution of Sparta, see Aristotle, *Polit.*, ii. 7, and Vol. III. of this work, pp. 483 *et seq.*

And yet she was distinguished by a certain heroic and warlike tradition, which more than once saved her, — from Demetrios, for example, and later from Pyrrhos, — and manifested itself to the world without in the expeditions of Kleonymos into Magna Græcia in behalf of the Tarentines, of Areos into Krete, into Aitolia, and against the Macedonians, and of Xanthippos into Africa for the assistance of Carthage. And this, strange to tell, at the very time when she allowed fifty thousand slaves to be carried off from her own territory by the Aitolians, — proving on the one side the existence of a military spirit formidable yet, at least in some of her generals, and on the other, the destruction of the national sentiment. Men were willing to enter a foreign service for the sake of gold, but they left their fatherland to perish.

Agis IV., of the Eurypontid line, becoming king in 234 B. C., at the age of twenty, believed it possible to regenerate Sparta by restoring the institutions and manners of earlier days. He began by proposing to the senate a new distribution of lands. This was to begin with the most dangerous question of all; for he thus aimed at dispossessing some for the benefit of others. Most of the rich, habituated to luxury and hostile to all innovation, and especially their wives, alarmed at the mere recollection of the severe life which the primitive customs had imposed, formed a party hostile to reform. At its head the other king of Sparta placed himself, Leonidas, a man who had passed a part of his life at Asiatic courts, and had taught his fellow-citizens many lessons in luxury. On the side of Agis were the poor, the ambitious, and also a few young men who, with the generosity of their age, saw in these reforms the future welfare of the country. He gained as partisans his mother, Agesistrate, and his grandmother, Archidameia, the two richest women in Sparta. He himself, brought up by them in luxury, possessed great landed estates and a treasure of six hundred talents. He renounced his earlier habits, assumed those of the ancient Spartans, and declared that he would give all his wealth to the common fund. His mother and grandmother united with him in this spirit of sacrifice.

The plan proposed by Agis was this: The abolition of all debts; the division of the whole territory of Lakonia into nineteen thousand five hundred lots, of which fifteen thousand were for the Lakonians,

who were all to bear arms, and forty-five hundred for the Spartans; the formation of a corps of forty-five hundred citizens by the addition to the seven hundred of a sufficient number of neighbors or foreigners who had been suitably educated, were young and were well-disposed; and lastly, the re-establishment of the discipline consecrated by the name of Lykourgos. To introduce this project he made use of legal methods at first, presenting it to the senate. Leonidas objected that the plan was very different from what had been done by Lykourgos, who had neither made a general remission of debts, nor had admitted strangers to the number of the Spartans. Agis rejoined that if the venerated law-giver had not abolished debts, on the other hand he had not permitted men to contract them, inasmuch as he had forbidden the use of money; also that it came particularly ill from Leonidas to object to foreigners, having himself married an Asiatic. The senate, however, rejected the measure, though by but one vote. It was necessary to have recourse to other means. The three most important persons of the party of Agis were his maternal uncle, Agesilaos; an able orator, Lysandros, a descendant of the conqueror of Athens, whose character seems to have resembled that of his ancestor; and Mandrokleidas, a Spartan renowned for his dexterity. It was agreed among them that Leonidas must first be deposed. Agis had taken the precaution to admit Lysandros to the number of ephors for the year. As ephor, Lysandros brought up an ancient law which made it a crime for a Herakleid to marry a foreigner, and even a capital crime to reside outside of Lakonia, as Leonidas had done. For this double wrong he was accordingly deposed, and Kleombrotos, his son-in-law, a partisan of Agis, was made king.

The following year Agis was not able to give Lysandros again the office of ephor, all the places being filled by persons unfriendly to his plans, and Lysandros was accused by the new ephors of illegal measures. Upon this the king decided to act as in a time of revolution; he reproached them for going beyond their original prerogatives, which were only to interpose when the two kings could not agree; he expelled them from office, and appointed new ephors, among them Agesilaos. The young men of the city were armed, the prisons opened, and Agis found himself absolute master of Sparta, without any bloodshed. This was the moment to put the

reforms into practice; but unfortunately, among the three counselors of Agis there was one who labored only for his own interests. Agesilaos had large estates, and also large debts. He wished, certainly, to be rid of the latter, but he proposed to keep the former, and by specious arguments he induced Agis to begin with the abolition



SUPLIANT WHO HAS TAKEN REFUGE ON AN ALTAR.¹

of debts. All registers and securities, piled in a heap in the public square, were burned in the presence of the crowd. Agesilaos in his joy declared that never fire had burned so clear and bright before. When the question of the division of the land came up, he found expedients for delaying its execution. The affair was at this stage, when the Athenians, attacked by the Aitolians in 238 B. C., called

¹ Marble statue in Rome, in the Palazzo Barberini (from the *Monumenti dell' Instit.*, vol. ix. pl. 34). The young girl, throwing herself down on the altar, leans on her right hand and holds in her left a branch of foliage, after the manner of suppliants. This beautiful work undoubtedly is of as early date as the fifth century B. C.

the Spartans to their aid. Agis hastened to the isthmus. While he gained the admiration of all by his courage, his single-mindedness, and the discipline of his soldiers, Agesilaos brought the party into discredit by his insolent and scandalous tyranny. The poor, who had hoped so much from the reforms, felt that they had been deceived; the partisans of Leonidas resumed the ascendancy; and when Agis returned, a revolution had restored his rival. Agis took refuge, with Kleombrotos, in a temple. The latter was saved by his wife, a daughter of Leonidas; but Agis, treacherously induced to leave his asylum, and dragged before an illegally constituted tribunal, was condemned to death, after declaring that he did not regret his generous attempt. Thrown into prison, he was hastily put to death, and his mother and grandmother shared his fate.

This act of cruelty was followed by a period of terror, during which, for the first time in her history, Sparta had but one king, Leonidas. But from his own family an enemy came forth. The soul of Agis seemed to enter his house with Agiatis, the widow of the unfortunate king, whom Leonidas had spared on account of her great wealth, and had forcibly married to his son Kleomenes.

III. — KLEOMENES; SUCCESS OF THE AITOLIANS; ALLIANCE OF THE ACHAIAIS WITH PHILIP OF MACEDON; BATTLE OF SELLASIA (222 B. C.).

KLEOMENES was by temperament an enthusiast, and he was at the age when it is natural to pursue with ardor either evil, if a perverse inclination leads that way, or good, when a dear or respected hand points it out. He listened eagerly to the words of Agiatis as she spoke to him of the designs and of the virtues of her first husband. He kindled at her words, and was filled with indignation when he saw how and why the young martyr had fallen, and marked the working of the oligarchical tyranny his father's victory had introduced, with the corruption of the higher class, their effeminacy, their contempt of the early institutions, their disregard of all virtue and patriotism. A Stoic philosopher, Spheros of Olbia, a disciple of that Kleanthes who was the last of the

great men of Athens,¹ lived at this time in Sparta, where it seems that philosophy had made its entrance with the new manners of the day. Kleomenes was one of his hearers, and derived, no doubt, from the austere lessons of the school of duty new encouragement in the thoughts which now occupied his mind, and perhaps also that rashness, that violence in doing right, so to speak, and that disregard of existing conditions as to man and society which characterize the noble doctrine of Zeno. Stoicism misconceives the human character, exaggerating certain virtues to the degree that they become faults. Kleomenes did not correctly understand the age in which he lived, and his eagerness to do right inspired the idea of guilty measures,² which destroyed all. Becom-



COIN OF OLBIA.³

ing king in 236 B. C., he resumed the projects of Agis, but with the idea that a reform so hostile to the existing interests of the more powerful class would not succeed until it should be enforced by an army. To obtain this army he needed a war, military success, glory.

Agis strove to reform the State, that he might reconstruct the army and the power of Sparta. Kleomenes reversed this order: he proposed to increase the importance of the State that he might afterwards reconstruct its constitution. If we may compare Sparta with Rome, and a counterfeit hero with a truly great man, we should say that Agis employed the methods of the Gracchi and perished like them, while Kleomenes attempted that in which Caesar succeeded, and himself very nearly achieved success.

But the successful war of which Kleomenes had need could only be found in an attempt to restore to Sparta the supremacy; and this attempt must needs lead him to a conflict with the Achaian League,—a fatal necessity; for this rivalry was to destroy the last hope of Greece.

¹ He was an Athenian by residence, if not by birth. In respect to Kleantes, and his noble hymn to Zeus, see *History of Rome*, ii. 273.

² For instance, the murder of the ephors and of a claimant to the throne, Archidamos, with which Polybios (v. 37) reproaches him.

³ Herakles, kneeling to the right, wearing the lion's skin and bending his bow; before him, EMINAKO, the name of an unknown dynasty. Reverse: a wheel, surrounded by four dolphins, in an incused square. (Silver.)

The Aitolians precipitated this conflict. Reassured in regard to Macedon by the disturbances there which had followed the death of Demetrios, they were now seized with jealousy at sight of the rapid advance of the Achaïans. Three Arkadian cities, Tegea, Orchomenos, and Mantinea, formerly associated with the Achaïan confederation, detached themselves from it to unite with Sparta. Far from resenting this defection, the Aitolians encouraged it. They saw here the occasion of an inevitable conflict between Sparta and the Achaïans. Sparta, moreover, had causes of complaint which might be brought forward. Megalopolis, the fortress built by Epameinondas against Lakonia, had been admitted to the league, and we have seen that Lydiades had entered it with sentiments hostile to Lacedæmon. Although Aratos had prevented this hostility from taking effect, Sparta might feel herself menaced; moreover, it was believed, or at least it was asserted, that Aratos proposed to attack Tegea and Orchomenos. To avert this apprehended danger, Kleomenes now began to build on the Megalopolitan territory a fort commanding one of the entrances into Lakonia.

BRONZE COIN.¹

The assembly of the Achaïans at once broke with Sparta and with Aitolia. "It appeared noble to them," says Polybios, "to owe the defence of their cities and of their country to themselves alone, and to implore aid of no one." Aristomachos, at that time strategos, took the field with twenty-one thousand men, and attacked Spartan Arkadia, which the king, sent by the ephors, came to defend with five thousand troops (227 B. C.). Kleomenes showed himself an able and skilful general. The Achaïans were ignominiously defeated, and the following year he was victorious, near Mount Lykaïos, over Aratos, who fled, and near Megalopolis over Lydiades, who was killed on the field. He had taken care to bring with him from Sparta those who were most hostile to him; after having intentionally wearied them out by numerous

¹ Coin of Orchomenos. Artemis kneeling to the right, her petasos hanging on her shoulder: she holds her bow in the left hand, and picks up an arrow with the right; her dog is behind her. Reverse: EPXOMENION; Kallisto, to the left, falling back pierced with an arrow; beside her the child Arkas, whom she has let fall.

marches, he granted them a period of repose for which they had clamored. Then he himself set out, as if on another enterprise, and with his mercenaries marched to Sparta, where his arrival was unexpected. He put to death the ephors except one, who took refuge in a sanctuary and was afterwards banished, with eighty partisans of the oligarchy. He then turned all property into a common fund, beginning with his own and that of his father-in-law and of his friends. He completed the number of



VIEW OF ARKADIA: MOUNT KYLLENOS AND LAKE STYMPHALOS.¹

citizens by calling in the inhabitants of the adjacent country, of whom he formed a corps of five thousand foot, armed with long pikes carried in both hands, instead of javelins. He divided all the territory among them, even reserving lots for the exiles, whom he promised to recall as soon as circumstances should permit, thus uniting justice and humanity with the extreme energy of his measures. He revived the ancient laws in respect to discipline, education, meals in common, gymnastic exercises, and all the other customs, himself setting the example. Their primitive rights were restored to the kings, which had been taken from them by the

¹ From a photograph.

ephors, and to conform to the old custom, he caused a second king to be appointed; but instead of selecting him from the descendants of Prokles, he placed as his colleague his own brother, Eukleides (226 B. C.).

Kleomenes has been represented as extremely ambitious. Certainly he was so; but he had that lofty ambition which desires power less for the wealth or pleasures that it gives, than for the great things that it enables a man to do. More than anything, he desired to regenerate the State. Considering only the interests of Sparta, nothing more advantageous could have been attempted; unfortunately that point of view was not broad enough.

SILVER COIN.¹BRONZE COIN.²

Sparta, long a stranger to the general affairs of Hellas, did not understand that the Greek interest must henceforth, for the safety of all, take the precedence of the Lacedæmonian interest. For the new time a new organization was required: it was a patriotic duty to become Achaian. With Macedon always threatening, with Asia ruled by the dynasty of Seleukos, and Italy united under the Romans, there was no hope for Greece but in union. Three powers wished to make themselves the centre around which the country should unite: Aitolia, without any skill as a leader or founder; Sparta, claiming only subjects; the Achaian League, asking only for citizens. Doubtless the league offered the best opportunities for the solution of the problem. Was it the duty of the league, if for the moment it was not the stronger, to submit to lose itself in the new Spartan State? This has been asserted; but in disregard of the character now assumed by Sparta,—that of a revolutionary city, where all the passions of the poor man against the rich had been unchained and glutted: a contagious example, which was followed in the adjacent cities. Throughout the Peloponnesos the poor looked to Kleomenes for the abolition of debts and the division of the land,—

¹ Head of Pallas, helmeted, left profile; behind, a rose on its stem; in the field, a dolphin. Reverse: Pegasos feeding, to the right; underneath, the koppa. (Coin of Corinth.)

² Coin of Phlious (Argolis). Bull threatening with his horns, to the left. Reverse: ☿ and three bunches of grapes between the spokes of a wheel.

that is to say, for a complete social overthrow. Aratos and the Achaians threw themselves with terror into the arms of Macedon, and asked help in extinguishing this volcano which threatened to extend its ravages on every side. It was not jealousy of Aratos towards Kleomenes, but it was the terror of a peaceful society in presence of a radical revolution, which at Sparta was perhaps necessary and justifiable,¹ but was by no means so in cities constituted after other principles.



VIEW OF CORINTHIA.²

Kleomenes hastened to exhibit the strength which Sparta had just recovered; he entered Arkadia, detached Mantinea from the league, defeated the Achaians at Hekatombeion, in Achaia itself (224 B. C.), and the following year seized Argos and all of Argolis. At Corinth and Sikyon the poorer class raised a tumult. Aratos hastened thither; in Corinth he ordered many executions, and in Sikyon he narrowly escaped being killed. Corinth admitted Kleomenes, who at once blockaded the citadel. Aratos, on his part, called in Antigonos, and the king of Macedon was declared general-

¹ Exception is made, of course, in respect to acts like the murder of the ephors.

² From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*. The view is taken from Mount Kyllenos in Arkadia, and extends to the Saronic Gulf.

in-chief of the forces of the league by sea and land, with absolute power; he, however, declined to accept this office unless the citadel of Corinth should be given up to him,—in this imitating Aisop's huntsman, who bridled the horse before mounting him.

At the approach of Antigonos, Kleomenes took up his position on the isthmus. Between the Akrokorinthos and the sea he dug a moat to close the road to the Macedonians; but in his rear the aristocratic party, whom he had not banished, raised an insurrection in Argos, and the loss of that city obliged him to abandon his positions. Antigonos, finding the way clear, entered Corinth, where he placed a garrison, and thence advanced into Arkadia, where he



COINS OF THE AKARNANIANS IN GENERE.¹

took Tegea, Orchomenos, and Mantinea, which the Achaians, under the command of Aratos, sacked and completely destroyed² (223 B. C.).

While Antigonos withdrew into Aigina, to winter there, Kleomenes, without regard to the season, took the field again. He surprised Megalopolis, but obtained only the walls, owing to Philopoimen, whose name we here meet for the first time; by his desperate resistance from street to street and house to house, that general gained time for the women and children and other non-combatants to escape to Messene, retreating thither himself with the fighting-men of the city. Vainly did Kleomenes recall them to their homes and to their alliance with himself; and he took his revenge upon the walls and houses of the city by destroying them. The Achaians

¹ 1. Bearded head of the Acheloos, right profile. Reverse: F, initial of the name *Fakapvâves*; legend, KAAAPOA; the whole in an incused square. (Silver. Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen Akarnaniens*, p. 145). 2. Head of Pallas, with a Corinthian helmet, left profile; behind, the head of the river Acheloös; underneath, monetary mark, B. Reverse: Pegasos, flying to the left; underneath, the monetary mark, N. (Silver. Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen Akarnaniens*, p. 24.) 3. Horned and bearded head of the river Acheloös, front face. Reverse: AΓΗΜΩΝ; head of the nymph Kallirrhoe, daughter of Acheloös, front face; the name *Ἀγῆμων* is that of a magistrate. (Silver. Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen Akarnaniens*, p. 145.)

² A new city, which was called Antigoneia, was built on its site.

at this moment were in council at Aigion. Aratos appears; they question him; he will not answer, but weeps, and covers his face with his *chlamys*; they urge him, and at last he tells them that Megalopolis has been destroyed by Kleomenes. Thanks to Philopoi-



SELLASIA AND THE VALLEY OF THE OINOUS.

men, the disaster was not so fatal as it had at first seemed. "The great city," it is true, was destroyed, but its population were in arms, and eager for vengeance. They were to be satisfied with it.

To carry on the war, Kleomenes was obliged to have recourse to every possible means. He enfranchised the Helots; he solicited

aid from Ptolemy, who, since Antigonos and the Achaian League had entered into friendly relations with each other, had become favorable to Sparta; and he gave up his own family to the Egyptian king as hostages for succor which he did not obtain, or which was of little value. With his utmost efforts he was able to gather only about twenty thousand men for the decisive campaign which was about to open, while Antigonos had more than thirty

OCTODRACHM.¹

thousand, among whom, besides the phalanx of ten thousand Macedonians, there were many allies and mercenaries from every land,—Achaians, Megalopolitans, Boiotians, Epeirots, Akarnanians, Illyrians, and Gauls. This army advanced towards Mounts Evas and Olympos, in the northeast of Lakonia, on the banks of the river Oinos. There, between the two mountains, was a road which led, through the city of Sellasia, to Sparta.

BRONZE COIN.²

Kleomenes had fortified the passes with moats and barricades of trees; and he had posted himself there with his army. Eukleides, his brother, took up a position on Mount Evas, while he himself guarded the slopes of Olympos. His positions were so formidable that Antigonos hesitated some days before attacking him, but at last decided to do so. The battle was long and sanguinary. On both sides the generals were able and the soldiers full of courage; twice the Macedonians gained signal advantage. The troops sent against Eukleides were repulsed in disorder, when a charge led by the young Philopoimen, against the order of his superior officers, broke the Lacedæmonian ranks. On Mount Olympos Kleomenes resisted all assaults until Antigonos doubled his phalanx, which charged with their pikes lowered, and

¹ Veiled head of Berenike II., wife of Ptolemy Energetes, right profile. Reverse: ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΣΗΣ; cornucopia filled with fruits, and ornamented with two fillets.

² Coin of Philip III. (or V.) (220–179 B. C.). Head of Helios, right profile, with a crown of rays. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; a winged thunderbolt; in the field, three mint-marks; the whole in a wreath of oak-leaves.

nothing could stand before them. This is the story of Polybios. Plutarch speaks of the treason of one of the Spartan officers. Many of the soldiers of Kleomenes met their death on this last battle-field of ancient Sparta. When the day was decisively lost, the king made his escape. He reached Sparta accompanied by a few horsemen, and alighting, he refused to sit down or to quench his thirst. Leaning against a column, he long stood motionless, with bent head, lost in sad reflections. At last he recovered himself; accompanied by his friends, he hastily made his way to Gythion, whence he sailed for Egypt, in a vessel that had been prepared in advance.

Ptolemy Euergetes readily yielded to the influence of this strong nature. He promised aid to the Spartan, and bestowed on him an annual pension. But to Euergetes succeeded his son Philopator, a



BRONZE COIN.¹

worthless, dissolute prince, who put to death his mother, Berenike, and left the government of the kingdom to women. Meantime in Greece all was greatly changed.

After entering

Sparta, where he hastened to re-establish the ephors, to renew all the old abuses and all the causes of weakness and ruin, Antigonos had placed in Orchomenos and Corinth garrisons which held the Peloponnesos at his discretion; and he then returned into Macedon, called thither by an attack of the Illyrians. He conquered these invaders, but perished from a hemorrhage of the lungs, having too much exerted his voice in battle-cries during the engagement. He left the throne to his nephew, Philip III., a youth of seventeen.² The field was therefore free, and Kleomenes began to meditate a return to his country. He had preserved amidst all the corruption of Egypt

¹ Diademed head of Zeus Ammon, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; eagle standing, three quarters to the left, on a thunderbolt. Egyptian coin of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos (?).

² This king is called Philip V. by historians who give Arrhidaios the name of Philip III., and the son of Kassandros, who reigned but a few months, that of Philip IV.

the austere morals of a Spartan of the ancient days. This conduct, a living reproach to the king and his courtiers, had rendered him odious; it was easy to persuade the suspicious Philopator that the exile was planning an attack on Kyrene. Kleomenes was imprisoned, with thirteen of his friends, in a large solitary house, where he was guarded as the Turks guarded Charles XII. at Bender. The Spartan, who in more than one respect resembles the adventurous



VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF PHIGALEIA.¹

Swede, made his escape as the king did later; and going out into the streets of Alexandria, armed, and accompanied by his companions, attempted to arouse the citizens by proclaiming liberty. The effeminate townspeople applauded, but made no effort. The Spartans killed the governor of the city and another of the Egyptian courtiers, and were then surrounded by the guards. Not to be taken alive, they killed themselves. The body of Kleomenes

¹ From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*. For the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, in the territory of Phigaleia, see Vol. III. p. 113; p. 566, a fragment of a frieze; and Vol. II. p. 195. one of its capitals.

was flayed and crucified. Later, his remains received expiatory honors, and the Alexandrians venerated him as a hero.

Thus perished the last of the Spartans, and with him fell his country and Greece. Sparta was indeed dead, the Achaian League was dying, and the Macedonians, established in the heart of the



BRONZE OF PATRAS.¹

Peloponnesos, would shortly furnish the Romans a pretext for interfering. The responsibility for these disastrous results falls upon Kleomenes, who instead of going forward, went back six centuries in his policy. He attempted to put in practice the superannuated system of Lykourgos at a time when he ought to have rescued Sparta from her oppressive oligarchy, her culpable isolation, and her inveterate selfishness, to lead her into paths worthy of her great name. In making herself a member of the Achaian League, Sparta would have carried with her the rest of the Peloponnesos, which, thus fraternally united with Central Greece, would have formed with it a fortress long to remain impreg-

nable. But neither Sparta nor Kleomenes was willing to sacrifice self-interest in this association, where the rights of all were equal. The league, threatened with overthrow, called in the Macedonians; and all fell back into chaos.

Antigonos, as we have seen, did not long survive his triumph, and Macedon, thrown back upon itself, did not seem formidable with its king, seventeen years of age. The situation, therefore, again became what it had been in 229 B. C., and it seemed probable that the Achaians would continue to gain ground. But although they had nothing more to fear from Sparta, the Aitolians still remained jealous and inimical.

The two leagues watched each other with a hostile eye across the strait that separated them. The Aitolians, incorrigible plunderers, were eager to have hostilities recommence; but after the

¹ From Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. lxxiii. No. 5. A young girl standing, having a dove on her right shoulder.

battle of Sellasia, as by a sort of tacit agreement, a general truce had prevailed in Greece, and it was little to their liking.

They possessed, as associated in their league, the city of Phigaleia, situated in the mountains on the common frontier of Arkadia and Messenia, two hours distant from the sea. Thither they

sent a rapacious and violent man, Dorimachos, under pretext of guarding this city, but really to keep watch upon the Peloponnesos.



1.



2.



3.

COINS OF SIKYON.¹

Aitolian corsairs infested the coast, and were not backward in landing to carry off spoils. The ephors of Messene complained to

Dorimachos, who feigned ignorance of the pirates' plunderings and accepted part of their spoils. The ravages continued and the complaints were renewed.

Dorimachos, called before the magistrates at Messene, appeared there with

anger and threats. He was received with firmness, and retired covered with confusion. From that day he gave himself no rest until he had induced the Aitolians to declare war upon the Messenians. They broke with these faithful allies on consideration of the fact that Messenia, having escaped the disasters caused by the late wars, would now be a good field for plunder.

SILVER TETRADRACHM.²

Dorimachos and his partisan Skopas, says Polybios, made an irregular declaration of hostilities; without awaiting the action of the assembly or consulting the magistrates, they opened the campaign and traversed, plundering as they went, the Achaian territory of Patrai, Phare, and Tritaia. These cities and the Mes-

¹ 1. Lion, crouching and about to spring, to the left; in the field, the letters Σ and Η. Reverse: dove flying to the left, in an olive-wreath. (Silver.) 2. Dove's head, to the left. Reverse: Σ, in the field. (Silver.) 3. Apollo, kneeling, to the right, holding the bow in his left hand, and laying the right on his quiver. Reverse: lyre and plectrum. (Silver.)

² Diademed head of Philip III. (or V.), right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; Athene Alkis, standing to the left, armed with her shield, and launching the thunderbolt. In the field, two monograms.

senians made their complaint before the general assembly. Aratos declared war, and met the Aitolians at Kaphyai, near Megalopolis, where the battle was lost through his fault. The victorious army advanced into Achaia as far as Pellene, and after ravaging the territory of Sikyon, withdrew across the isthmus.

Success increased their confidence; they extended their ravages more widely. "and when they were reproached for it they did not deign to defend themselves. They scoffed at those who asked them the reason for what they had done or what they proposed to do. . . . Ariston, their strategos, remained quietly at home, feigning ignorance of all that went on, and always

SILVER COIN.¹

asserting that there was no war, that it was a time of complete peace." The Achaians, since the intervention of Antigonos, had unfortunately learned to rely more upon others than upon themselves. In the presence of a new danger they again cried out to Macedon for help. They sent ambassadors to Philip, to the Epeirots, to Boiotia, Phokis, and Akarnania. They levied troops, to which the Messenians and Spartans added their contingents, and they gave the command to Aratos, to whom they had restored their confidence after having coldly received him on his return from Kaphyai.

SILVER COIN.²

The Spartans at this time played a double game. While sending troops to the Achaians, they also signed a secret treaty with the Aitolians, and prepared at Sparta, against Macedon, a movement which took place when Philip entered the Peloponnesos, and many of his partisans were slain. But as the king drew near the city the ephors feigned a hypocritical devotion. Philip preferred not to inquire closely into the matter; he came to Corinth, where he had convoked an assembly of the members and allies of the

¹ Coin of the Akarnanian League at Anaktorion. ANAKTOPIQN; head of Pallas, left profile, with the Corinthian helmet; behind, a tripod. Reverse: Pegasus flying to the right; underneath, an ivy-leaf.

² Coin of the Akarnanian League at Thyron. Head of Pallas, left profile, with the Corinthian helmet; behind, Demeter, holding two torches; in the field, a mint-mark. Reverse: Θ (Thyron); Pegasus flying to the left. (Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen Aearnaniens*, p. 172.)

Achaian League, and in this assembly he assumed an attitude which recalled to men's minds the policy of Philip and of Alexander. Making himself the simple doer of the will of the confederation, he allowed the council to decree that there should be restored to all those whom the Aitolians had despoiled, their government, their lands, their cities, without garrison, or tribute, or other laws than those of their fathers; that the rights of the Amphiktyons should be enforced; and that there should be restored to them the temple of Delphi, which the Aitolians had attempted to seize. This decree was ratified in the assembly of Aigion, where Philip delivered a long harangue, which was very cordially received. "There were formed," says Polybios, "great hopes from his mildness and humanity." This conduct was due to the influence—at that time very great—which Aratos exercised over him.

Philip prepared actively for war. The Thessalians, Phokians, Boiotians, Akarnanians, Euboians, Messenians, and all the members of the league promised him assistance.

He also obtained aid from the Illyrians, whom the Aitolians had not long before drawn into an expedition for pillage, without afterwards giving them their share in the division of the booty. On the side of the Aitolians

SILVER COIN.¹OBOLOS.²

were the people of Elis and Ambrakia and the Spartans, who, at that moment bringing about a revolution they had long had in view, massacred the chiefs of the Macedonian faction and appointed two kings. The partisans of independence had up to this time left the thrones vacant, because they still preserved the hope of seeing Kleomenes return. The news of his death decided them to divide the royal authority between Agesipolis, a child of the family of the Eurysthenidai, and Lykourgos, "among whose ancestors there had never been a king; but the position of successor of Herakles and king of Sparta cost him only as many talents as there were ephors." (Polybios.)

¹ Coin of Elis. Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: FA[λείων]. Eagle standing to the right, with wings displayed.

² Laurelled head of Zeus, to the left. Reverse: ΠΙΣΑ: thunderbolt. (Gold obolos of Pisa, in Elis.)

“In the beginning of the summer (220 B.C.), when Aratos took the command, there was war over all the world. Hannibal was marching against Saguntum; the Romans, under the leadership of L. Aemilius, were sent into Illyria against Demetrios of Pharos; Antiochos was planning the conquest of Coele-Syria; . . . Ptolemy was making preparations against Antiochos; Lykourgos, following in the footsteps of Kleomenes, besieged the Atheneion of the Megalopolitans; the Achaians were collecting foreign cavalry and infantry for the war which threatened them on all sides; Philip marched out of Macedon, at the head of ten thousand hoplites and five thousand light-armed infantry; and lastly, at that time the Rhodians began war with Byzantion.” (Polybios.)

Philip waged with success this obscure war, which is quite without interest to us. Notwithstanding the repeated invasions of the Dardanians, which called him home, and the treason of his ministers, Apelles, Leontios, Ptolemaios, and Megaleas, who conspired against his life because they had not been able to overthrow the credit of Aratos, he seized upon Thermos, the capital of the Aitolians, drove them out of Thessaly and Elis, ravaged Lakonia, and twice defeated Lykourgos.

The first Philip after Chaironeia seemed less the master of Greece, and the most extensive hopes were dawning in the mind of this young conqueror. Since he held this country whence Alexander had flung himself upon the East, why might not he now go forth from it to seek a like fortune in the West?

¹ Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France* (Catalogue, No. 1,812. Nicolo, height 8 millim., breadth 11 millim.).



SPHINX BEFORE A HUMAN HEAD.¹

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CONDITION OF GREECE BEFORE THE ROMAN DOMINION.

I. — GENERAL WEAKNESS.

WE know what elements of political and moral strength Greece still possessed before the chilling and heavy hand of Macedon had been laid upon her, but, also, how many causes of weakness these cities contained, more hostile among themselves than they were to the world outside. We shall now see to what condition she was reduced after a hundred and thirty years of this sway, resisted or endured quietly, at the moment when new conquerors approached.

We have already seen that she had exhausted herself in domestic strifes, as if determined to have no blood left in her veins when these vigorous enemies arrived. But we need to look more closely to assure ourselves that this time Greece could not survive, and — a sadder thing still — did not deserve a longer existence.

During the seventy-five years which followed the death of Alexander, Greece had been a prey twenty times captured and recaptured, — a part of the great spoils for which his successors fought among themselves. Then came a man who strove to restore this country to itself by driving out the tyrants, and to unite it in a fraternal association which might save it.

But institutions are machinery made efficient only by the force which sets them at work, and this force lies in public morals. In respect to the Achaian League, we have seen the attractive picture drawn by Polybios of its government; but the internal rivalries and general weakness were not taken into the account. It was the

work of one man, — feeble and perishable like everything in political institutions which depends solely on the genius of a legislator or a conqueror. Doubtless if the Spartans had sincerely united with the League; if the Aitolians had been less hostile; if Demetrios and Philip, instead of attacking the liberty of the Greek cities, had won them over to the Macedonian cause; finally, if the whole body of Hellenic nations, having Macedon for its head, and wielding with its thousand arms the sword of Marathon and of Thermopylai, had stood ready to defend the sacred soil against every invader, — doubtless Rome would have had occasion to send more than two legions to Kynoskephalai. “I see,” said a deputy from Naupaktos in the presence of the assembled Greeks,¹ “I see rising in the west a threatening cloud: let us hasten to terminate our puerile differences before it bursts over our heads.” But union and harmony could not exist between the peaceful inclinations of the Achaians and the revolutionary spirit of Lacedæmon; between the merchants of Corinth and the Aitolian klephts; between all these republics on the one side and the ambitious kings of Macedon on the other. Would it have been possible for Philopoimen, with all his ability and his commendable efforts to regenerate his people, to destroy the ancient hatred of the Messenians towards Sparta, and of Sparta towards Argos? Could he have made the Eleians forget their Aitolian origin, or the Arkadians their hereditary quarrels? Beyond this, even, in every city there were hostile factions, the more bitterly opposed to each other inasmuch as it was not power, but fortune, for which they strove. Everywhere there were the two parties, — that of the rich and that of the poor: the former always ready to take arms against the latter, and those who had nothing, to attack those who possessed much. Thence violent hatreds, by which the Roman Senate knew how to profit. Continually threatened by a social revolution, the rich looked towards Rome for protection; and as soon as the legions set foot in Greece, there was a Roman party there.

To bring these States into a fraternal union it would have been necessary to efface from their memory their entire history, and to arrest the degeneracy in morals, the destruction of patriotism. It would have been necessary, above all, to prevent contact with that

¹ In 217 B. C.: Polybios, v. 21.

Eastern world, so rich and so corrupt, which took from Greece the poets and artists she still had, for the schools of Alexandria and Pergamon; the men of talent and courage that remained, for the courts of Egypt and Syria. No Ptolemy or Seleukos had a minister, a general, a governor of a city or province, who was not a Greek. Hellas gave her best blood, and received vices in return. "Everywhere in this country," says Polybios, "great offices are cheaply bought. Intrust a talent to those who have charge of the public funds; take ten securities, as many promises, and twice as many witnesses, — never shall you see your money again."¹ Elsewhere he mentions that Dikearchos, the worthy friend of Skopas, who, being sent by Philip to plunder the Cyclades, notwithstanding plighted faith, built wherever he landed two altars, — to Impiety and to Injustice.²

This thirst for gold produced a depravity in morals which put an end to self-sacrifice for the public interest. A torpor invaded most of the cities. Athens, the alert and intelligent, once ready to take the initiative in the most glorious enterprises, now refuses to associate her destiny with that of Greece;³ and by the sacrilegious honors which she pays to Demetrios, to Attalos, and to all those kings whom she calls "the saving divinities," proves that she is indeed ripe for servitude. Aratos delivers her from the Macedonian garrison of the Peiræus and restores to her Salamis, but without drawing her from her apathetic indifference. There is but one thing more that she can do, and that is, to prohibit her citizens by public decree from taking any share in the affairs of Greece: like the Boiotians, who, not to be interrupted in their coarse pleasures, made patriotism a form of treason. "At Thebes," says Polybios, "a man left his property, not to his children, but to his boon companions, with the condition that it be spent in orgies; many men were thus obliged to have more banquets in a month than the month had days. For almost twenty-five years, the tribunals remained closed. . . ."⁴ Even the severity of Polybios has

¹ Polybios, iv. 9, vi. 36, and xviii. 17. The Greeks cannot believe that Flamininus is not bribed to make peace with Philip. . . . τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐπιπολαζούσης καὶ τοῦ μηδένα μηδὲν δωρεὰν πράττειν.

² Polybios, xviii. 37: Ἀσεβεία and Παρανομία.

³ Τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν πράξεων οὐδ' ὅποιας μετείχον . . . εἰς πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐξέκχυτο (Polybios, v. 106, 7; Olymp., cxi. 3).

⁴ Οὐδ' ἐκοινώνησαν (Βοιωτοὶ) οὔτε πράξεως οὔτ' ἀγῶνος οὐδενὸς ἔτι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μετὰ κοινοῦ

been outdone, and Boiotian stupidity was made a proverb. Yet Pindar and Epameinondas, Leuktra and Chaironeia, are titles of honor to Boiotia; and the extremely graceful figurines found in the metropolis of Tanagra reveal a feeling for art that is worthy of Greece.



APHRODITE.¹

Since the time of Philip I., Corinth had no longer been her own. A garrison held her walls, another occupied the citadel, and Aratos took and afterwards sold the Akrokorinthos, the citizens not interfering even in the sale. Their arsenals were empty; but statues and elegant vases and marble palaces glittered on every side, and the inhabitants boasted that their city was the most pleasure-loving in Greece. Their temple of Aphrodite was so rich that it maintained more than a thousand courtesans. After having destroyed or subjugated the other cities of Argolis, Argos herself became a prey to tyrants. Three times the Achaians effected an entrance into the city, with the intention of delivering it. From the tops of their houses the inhabitants, careless spectators of a struggle in which their own destinies were at stake, applauded as either side dealt vigorous blows. "It seemed," says Plutarch, "as if they were looking on at the Nemean Games."

Sparta was in one perpetual revolution. Within a period of a few years, four times the ephors had been massacred, the royal power rendered absolute, then abolished, then re-established, and

δόγματος (Polybios, xx. 4, 6, and 6, 1 *seq.*). The stupidity (*ἀναισθησία*) and the gluttony of the Boiotians (*Βοιωτία* *ἔσ*) became proverbial. Cf. Athenaios, x. 11, and the Pseudo-Dikearchos, in the work entitled *Βίος τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Didot, *Hist. Graec. fragm.*

¹ Terra-cotta of Tanagra, of the former Castellani Collection (No. 649); from the *Catalogue*, pl. xii. "A veiled Aphrodite, leaning her left arm on a cippus, surmounted by a figurine of Eros, nude, with lifted wings. The goddess wears a *kalathos* on her head; her hands grasp her *himation*, which serves her as a veil; her left foot is put foremost. Eros, also wearing a *kalathos*, has his legs crossed and his arms at his sides; the left hand seems to grasp a fold of drapery." Castellani has too much repaired this figure.

finally left in the hands of a tyrant, Machanidas, whom Philopomen finally overthrew. But Sparta, even in her abasement, was still too proud of her old renown to consent to lose herself in the Achaian League. To Machanidas succeeded Nabis, and the Spartans remained the allies of the Aitolians.



TERRA-COTTA FROM PHOKIS.¹

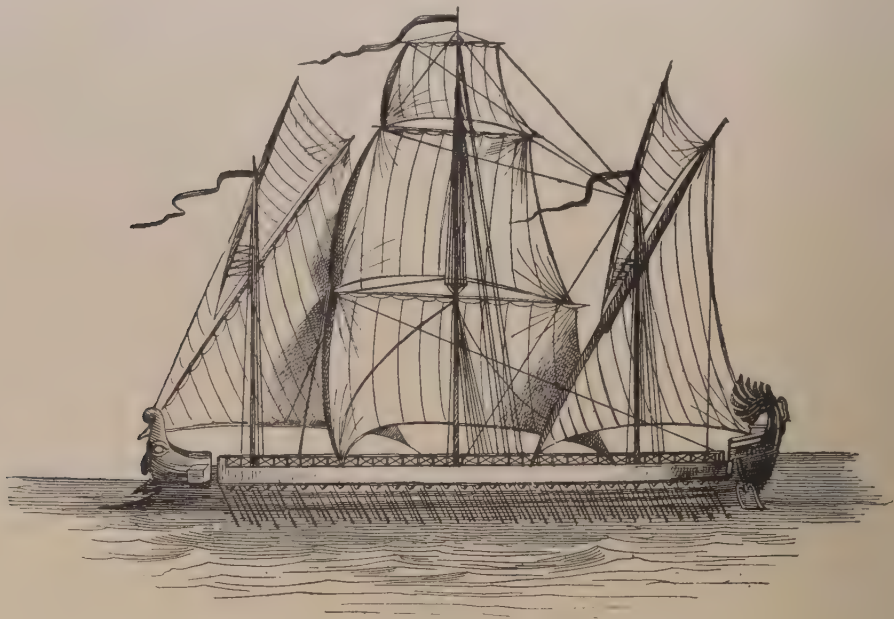
Of the lesser States there is little to say. Aigina has disappeared from the stage of politics. Megara is an obscure member of the Boiotian or Achaian League; the Eleians, like Messene and a part of Arkadia, depend upon the Aitolians; the weakness of Phokis still attests, after four generations, the terrible results of the anger of the gods; Euboia and Thessaly are powerless;² and Krete is given up to all disorder and to all evil passions, and to *kretise* means "to lie."³

¹ From the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. x. (1886) pl. 9.

² Hannibal, or rather Livy, said of Boiotia, Euboia, and Thessaly: *Illis nullae suae vires sunt.*

³ Philip for a short time held the nominal rank of supreme chief of Krete. "Krete,"

Even, however, with better morals and with patriotism, the Greeks would not have been able to save themselves; and though peace and union had reigned from Cape Tainaron to Mount Orbelos, not the less would Rome, with a little more time and effort, have brought Greece to her feet.



SAILING-VESSEL OF THE TIME OF DEMOSTHENES.¹

Misled by the great authority of Montesquieu, men have deceived themselves as to the strength of Greece at this time; the fears of Rome have been taken seriously; in the politic action of the Senate has been seen the avowal and proof of the power of Greece, and her army has been said to number a hundred thousand men. This is an optical illusion, caused by the famous names of her old history: from a distance, great ships of war; near at hand, only logs floating on the water. Athens could not put a stop to the ravages of the pirates of Chalkis, nor to those of the garrison of Corinth. In the year 200 B.C. a few bands of Akarnanians

says Polybios, "is the only country in the world where gain, of whatever nature it may be, is esteemed honest and legitimate. . . . If we speak of individuals, there are few men more dishonest; and if of the State, there is none where more unjust designs are entertained" (vi. 9).

¹ From the restoration by Graser, *De veterum re navali*, fig. 31.

lay waste Attika with fire and sword, and two thousand Macedonians hold the city besieged. When Philip devastates Lakonia, up to the very walls of Sparta, Lykourgos has but two thousand men with whom to oppose him. Philip himself takes the field in 219 B. C. with five thousand seven hundred soldiers, and a year



HARBOR OF RHODES.¹

later with seven thousand two hundred. The contingent of Argos and Megalopolis is five thousand and fifty men; and the whole Achaian confederation could not muster during the war between the two leagues, which was the most important at that period, over three thousand five hundred men, mercenaries excepted.² In 219 B. C. three cities separated from the confederation, and for their defence an army of three hundred and fifty soldiers was enough. The Eleians have never more than a few hundred men under arms; in the battle of Mount Apelauros there were twenty-

¹ This view, borrowed from the work of Alb. Berg, *Die Insel Rhodus*, pl. 33, completes that given on p. 40 of this volume. In the background is seen the coast of Asia Minor.

² A levy of 11,800 men was once called for by a decree, but 8,300 of these were to be mercenaries (Polybios, v. 91). See, *ibid.*, x., fr. 5, the deplorable condition of the cavalry before the reforms of Philopoimen.

three hundred, including the mercenaries.¹ At a later date Plutarch says: "At the present day Greece cannot bring three thousand hoplites into the field."²

The navy had fallen even lower. The Athenians, who sent two hundred vessels to Salamis, have now, as their whole fleet, only three hundred galleys. Nabis possesses no more.³ The Achaian League, including Argolis, Corinth, Sikyon, and all the maritime cities of Aigialeia, could arm but six triremes,—three to guard the Gulf of Corinth, and three for the Saronic Gulf. Livy tells us of the contemptible fleet of Philopoimen, of which the flag-ship was a quadrireme that for eighty years had been rotting in the harbor of Aigeion.⁴ The Aitolians have not even one vessel.⁵ Rhodes, whose power appears great compared with so much pettiness, having a serious quarrel with Byzantion, sends only three galleys into the Hellespont; and yet the parties in this war were two famous republics, three kings,—Attalos, Prousius, Achaïos,—and many Gallic and Thracian chiefs.⁶ Since the fall of the Athenian empire piracy had ravaged the Ægæan Sea, and it will be remembered that the Illyrian corsairs carried their devastations as far as the Cyclades.

This weakness was not accidental. It cannot be truly said that the military spirit was dead in Greece; but for two centuries her population had greatly diminished, and her best blood was poured out for causes in which she had no interest. The lure of honors and wealth drew to the Eastern courts the bravest and ablest Greeks, and this profitable traffic caused the country to be deserted. It was at the moment when Areos, the king of Sparta, perished, and when the last remnants of Hellenic liberty were destroyed by Antigonos, that Xanthippos led to the succor of Carthage the bravest of the Spartans. Later, during the second war of the Romans against Philip, Skopas sought to enlist for Ptolemy six thousand Aitolians; and all the young men would have followed him

¹ Polybios, iv., 68, 1.

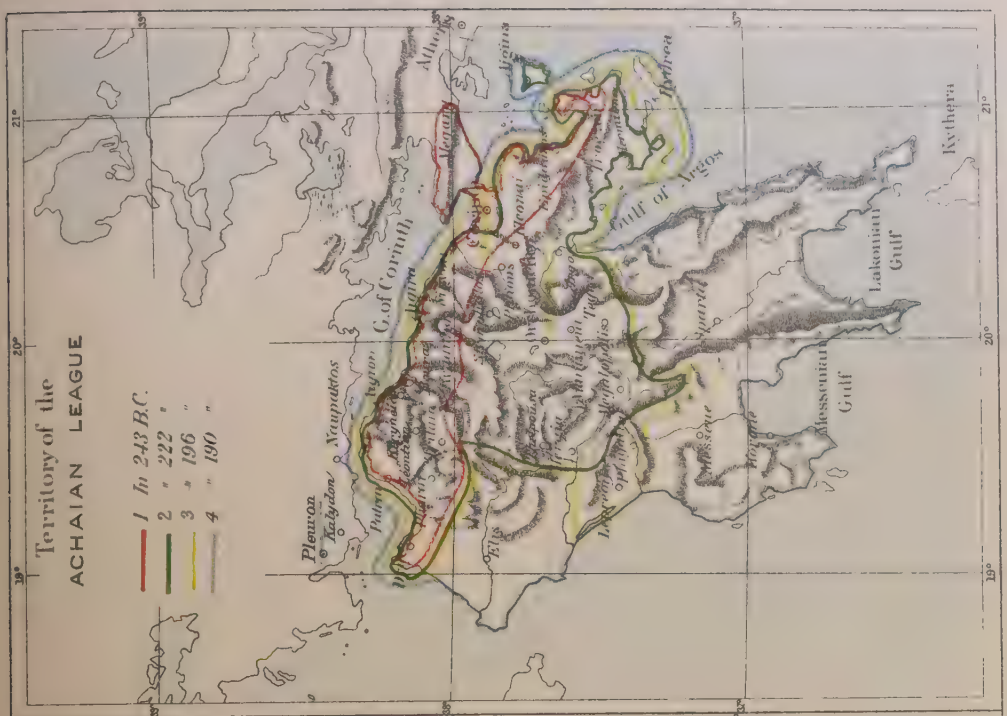
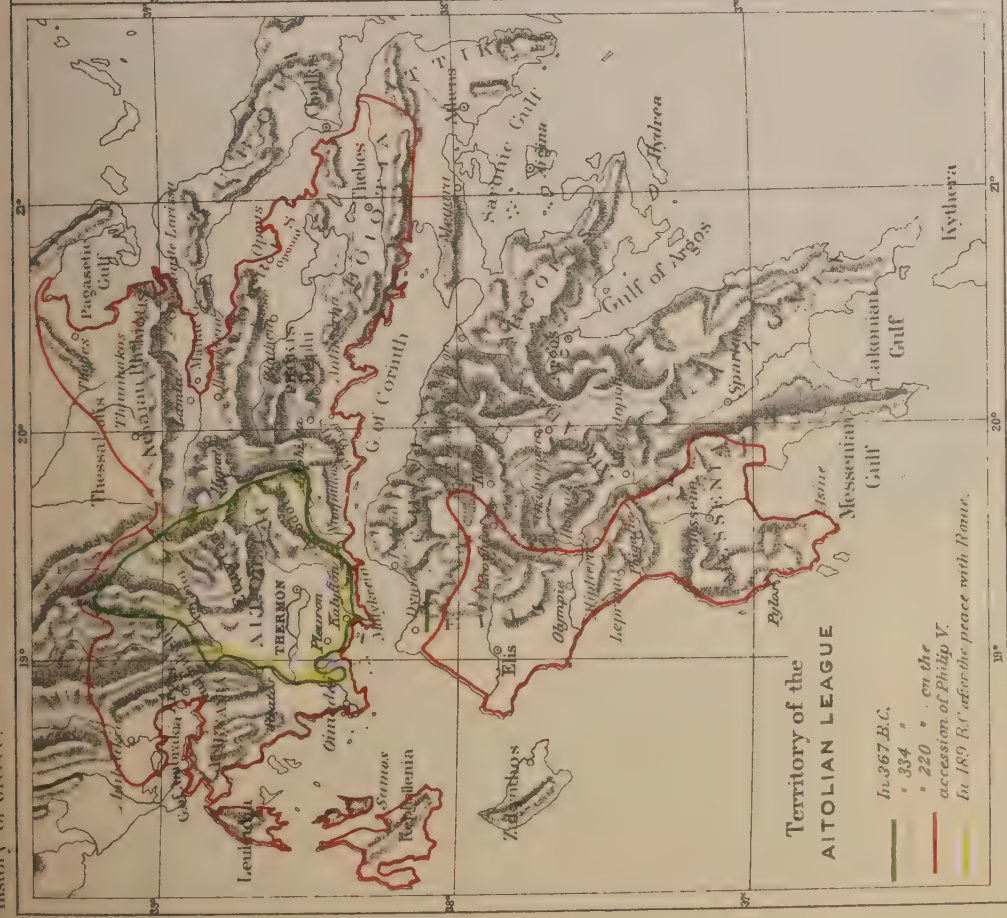
² *De defectu oracul.*, 8.

³ Livy, xxxi. 22: . . . *et erant Atticæ tres apertæ naves ad tuendos maritimos agros comparatæ*. Cf. Polybios, xxxv. 26.

⁴ Polybios, v. 91, and Livy, xxxv. 26.

⁵ In their expeditions against Epeiros, Akarnania, and the Peloponnesos, they used *ταῖς τῶν Κεφαλλήνων ναυσί* (Polybios, v. 3).

⁶ Polybios, ii. 62, 4.



had it not been for the opposition of the strategos Damokreitos.¹ In the time of Alexander, Darius had already fifty thousand Greek mercenaries, and we have seen that Greeks composed the entire army of the Ptolemies and Seleukids. Thus there went on between Greece and the Eastern world an exchange equally harmful to both countries: the latter took men, and thus lost the confidence and support obtained by employing national troops; the former accepted gold, and with that gold, which was ruinous to its own morals, bought, in turn, soldiers for its own private quarrels. Condotierism, that deadly scourge of States, which was fatal to Carthage and to the Italian republics of the Middle Ages, had extended over the whole of Greece. Macedon even employed foreigners in her military service; at Sellasia, Antigonos had five or six thousand. In the Achaian armies they were always more than half of the troops. The kings and the tyrants of Sparta had no other soldiers.²

Wealth obtained in evil ways goes habitually as it came. Asiatic and African gold did not remain in Greece, because there was no longer industry there. The cities were depopulated and destitute. Of Megalopolis it was said, "The great city is a great desert."³ Poverty was everywhere. Mantinea in its entire possessions was not worth three hundred talents, and Polybios⁴ estimates the taxable capital of the whole Peloponnesos as less than six thousand. Two centuries before this time, Attika was the richest State in Greece. A late statement of its wealth represented this to be under five thousand seven hundred and fifty talents,—half of the reserve in gold which Perikles kept in the treasury of the Athenians before the war in which their prosperity was destroyed.⁵ And this same people, who once gave a thousand talents for one of their temples,

¹ Polybios, iv. 12. However, in 191 B. C. they joined the Roman fleet with thirty-two decked vessels (Liv, xxxvi. 45), and in 190 B. C. with thirty-five. But the fact mentioned in the text shows what contemptible wars at this time disturbed the Greek world.

² Liv, xxxi. 43.

³ See Polybios, ii. 13, for Kleomenes and Antigonos; iv. 13, for the Achaians; v. 8, for Philip; iv. 15, v. 3, for the Eleians; for Athens, Liv, xxxi. 24, etc. Krete furnished them to all the world, even to the pirates (Strabo, x. 477).

⁴ ii. 62.

⁵ It has been shown that the sum of 5,750 talents given by Polybios as the estimate of value of all kinds of property owned in Attika applies only to the landed property which was the basis of taxation. At Athens the *timema*, the ratable value of property, upon which the tax (*εἰσφορά*) was generally one tenth, corresponded to what the Romans called a *caput* (Dareste, *Plaidoyers civils de Démosthène*, i. 28).

being now condemned by arbitration to pay a certain fine, could obtain but five hundred talents to release themselves.

Hence armies and campaigns were on a small scale; there were trivial deeds, and but little interest in them, while across the Adriatic resounded the great tumult of the Punic wars. Looking westward at this new nation which now entered upon the world's



BRONZE COIN.¹

stage, and seeing, in presence of the strictly organized commonwealth, full of strong virtues, brave and disciplined, Greece now so degraded that she has no longer poets or artists or citizens, that there is no serious

interest in her rivalries, no concerted plan in her wars; seeing her so depopulated that she is perishing for lack of men,² — we cannot resist the feeling of grief that the ruin of a once famous people is near and inevitable. All inferences and all memories from past days fail to show Greece now strong and capable of devotion and heroism. It is a worn-out people, given over to a disturbed and wandering mind. Fitting it was that Rome should seize the country before the Barbarians regained possession of it, before all its masterpieces fell under the axe of Philip, as those of Macedon and the Peloponnesos under the sacrilegious hand of the Aitolians.³ At least under the Roman dominion Greece was to find repose and peace.⁴

Doubtless there were still enlightened and patriotic Greeks, and when the question came to be clearly put between Greece and Rome, between liberty and servitude, there were emotions and utterances

¹ Coin of Mantinea. Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: MAN[τινέων]. Poseidon, nude, standing to the left, brandishing a trident.

² Polybios, xxxvii. 12; and he adds that men are no longer willing to marry, and rear children. This is one of the most curious fragments found by the Abbé Mai.

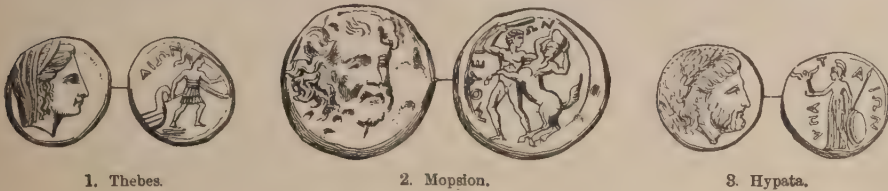
³ In respect of the devastations of Philip in Attika, see Livy, xxxi. 5, 24, 26, 30. He even caused the statues to be broken after they had been thrown from their pedestals. At Thermos, the capital of Aitolia, he burned the temples and threw down two thousand statues (Polybios, v. 9; xi. 3). The Aitolians on their part burned the ancient sanctuary of Dodona (*ibid.*, iv. 14), and at Dion the temple and the tombs of the kings of Macedon. They made war against the gods, Polybios says, as well as against men. The Spartans did the same at Megalopolis (*ibid.*, iv. 18); Philip, at Pergamon (xvi. 1; xvii.). See also the address of Furius to the assembly at Naupaktos (Livy, xxxi. 31). It will also be remembered that the Phokians pillaged Delphi, and Prousius robbed the Asiatic temples (Polybios, xxxii. 25).

⁴ Cf. Cicero, *De Off.* ii. 8, where he depicts Rome as a harbor and refuge for the nations and kings. Quintus Curtius (iv. 4) says of Tyre: *Nunc sub tutela Romanæ mansuetudinis acquiescūt.*

worthy of a great people; but they came too late to save her. The Achaian League could not now be of use, for the moment was passed, nor could any federative system, into which a resolute aggressor can easily introduce disturbance and anarchy; the only hope remaining would lie in an impossible reform in Greek ideas and morals, and in a close union with Macedon, under a strong king.

II. — MACEDON; ITS FORCES DISPERSED; THE ROMANS IN ILLYRIA.

SURROUNDED by the sea and by inaccessible mountains, inhabited by a warlike race, devoted to its kings, and still proud of the share they had given it in the world's history, Macedon was really a powerful State. As in the case of Carthage, Rome had to make three attacks in order to beat it down. If Philip had possessed



COINS OF THESSALIAN CITIES.¹

Macedon only, his conduct, like his interests, would have been simple; but he had also Thessaly and Euboia, Opous in Lokris, Elateia and the larger part of Phokis, the Akrokorinthos, and Orchomenos in Arkadia.² He had garrisons in three of the Cyclades, — Andros, Paros, and Kythnos, — also in Thasos, and in some of the cities of the Thracian and Asiatic coasts; lastly, a considerable part of Karia belonged to him,³ — possessions remote and dispersed, multiplying

¹ 1. Veiled head of Demeter, right profile. Reverse: ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ; Protesilaos armed and fighting to protect the vessels of the Greeks; a prow is seen behind him. (Triobolon) 2. Bearded head of the Lapith Mopsos, three-quarters front, to the right. Reverse: ΜΟΨΕΙΩΝ; the Lapith Mopsos fighting with his club, a centaur about to hurl a rock at him. (Bronze.) 3. Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile; behind him, the thunderbolt. Reverse: ΥΠΑΤΑΙΩΝ; Pallas Nikephoros standing to the left, holding in the left hand her shield and lance. (Bronze.)

² With Heraia, Aliphera, and Triphylia.

³ Euramos, Pedasos, Bargylia, Iassos, Stratonikeia in Karia; Myrina, in Eolis; Abydos, on the Hellespont; Perinthos, Hespertia, Sestos, in Thrace. Cf. Polybios and Livy, *passim*.

points of hostile contact. His cities of Thrace, with Sestos and Abydos, the keys of the passage from Europe into Asia, made him dangerous to Attalos of Pergamon; his cities of Karia and the island of Iasos, to the Rhodians; Euboia, to Athens; Thessaly and Phokis, to the Aitolians; his possessions in the Peloponnesos, to Sparta; and his strength excited the jealousy of the Egyptian Ptolemies.

With a better plan in his designs and a wiser use of his strength, Philip might have been supreme in Greece, for he held all



1. Obolos of Trikka.

2. Obolos of Larissa.

3. Hemidrachma of Larissa.

COINS OF THESSALIAN CITIES.¹

its most important positions,—he held its fetters, as Antipatros said. But he made war always as a guerilla chief rather than as a king, hastening in one campaign from Macedon to Kephallenia, and thence to Thermos, and from Aitolia to Sparta, never completely defeating any one enemy, and leaving every enterprise unfinished. In these wars he had never more than a few thousand men; and Plutarch speaks of his difficulties in raising soldiers. He

COIN OF THASOS.²

was not able to leave Macedon unprotected, for, every time that they knew him to be absent, the Thracians, Dardanians, and Illyrians fell upon his kingdom.

To subdue these Barbarians, to crush the Aitolians, to drive out tyrants from Sparta, and to propitiate the other States of Greece,—such was his task. A Greek clearly characterized the situation,

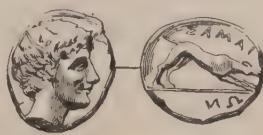
¹ 1. Horse leaping to the right. Reverse: [ΤΡΙ]ΚΚΑΙΟΝ; the nymph Triikka standing to the right, leaning upon a cippus, and raising the left hand; before her, a stork; incused square. 2. Horse, to the right; above, the letters OZ, unexplained. Reverse: ΛΑΡΙ[σαίων]; the nymph Larissa standing to the right, her arms raised as if arranging her hair; before her a hydria (incused square). 3. Horse stepping to the left; in the field a seed of hellebore. Reverse: ΛΑΡΙ[σαίων]; the sandal of Iason, in an incused square.

² A Silenos kneeling on one knee (which is the conventional method of indicating rapid motion) carries off a Menad; in the field A. Reverse: incused square. (Silver.) This coin, of a beautiful type, may be attributed to the middle of the fifteenth century.

speaking in a great assembly: "Philip ought no longer to feel obliged to keep up dissensions among us in order to make his own authority secure; he should be able to rely upon the affection of all Hellas, and watch over the country as if it were his own."¹ The king himself felt the necessity of this policy. "Do not make alliance with any foreign nation," he said. "The Romans are foreigners, whom we must not suffer to intermeddle with our affairs; they have neither your language, nor your manners, nor your laws. We, on the contrary, Macedonians, Aitolians, Achaïans, are but one



1. Coin of Same.



2. Coin of Same.



3. Coin of Kranion.



4. Coin of Proni.



5. Coin of Pale.

COINS OF TOWNS OF THE ISLAND OF KEPHALLENIA.²

people. If some transient disagreements separate us, we ought not on that account to be the less united by a common and eternal hatred of Barbarians."³

He thought wisely, but his conduct was wrong. If he did not poison Aratos,⁴ it is certain that he alienated his allies by excesses or by perfidy. "A king," he went so far as to say, "is bound neither by his word nor by moral laws." The least-experienced eyes could see approaching "the storm that the Aitolians called forth from the west." Philip saw it also, but seemed so little to

¹ Polybios, v. 104.

² 1. Laurelled head of Kephallios, right profile. Reverse: ΣΑΜΑΙΩΝ; the dog Lailaps sitting, to the right, with lifted paw. (Silver.) 2. Laurelled head of Kephallios, right profile. Reverse: ΣΑΜΑΙΩΝ; the dog Lailaps springing on his prey, to the right. (Silver.) 3. Woman's head, left profile, veiled and diademed. Reverse: ram's head, to the left, in an incused square. (Silver.) 4. Head of Zeus Ainesios, left profile. Reverse: ΓΡ [Γρωγγών] in monogram; in the centre a kernel of wheat. (Bronze.) 5. Head of Demeter, left profile. Reverse: ΓΑ [Γαλιών]. (Silver.)

³ Livy, xxxi. 29.

⁴ Polybios affirms this, but on very vague grounds. See, *passim*, his reproaches to Philip for the latter's conduct at Messene and Argos, and the oration of Aristenes (Livy, xxxii. 21).

understand the danger that he made no preparation to ward it off. After the first war, even, when he had felt how heavy was the hand of Rome, he allowed himself to be again caught unprepared. When the Senate sent to declare war upon him, he was in Asia fighting with Attalos and the Rhodians about a few insignificant places in Thrace and Karia. His reply to the deputy Aemilius shows his disposition to trifle in the midst of the most serious affairs. He pardoned the Roman his arrogant language, he said, for three reasons: first, because he was young and inexperienced; second, because he was the handsomest man of his age; third, because he bore a Roman name.¹

Italy and Greece, those two halves of the ancient world, had long before this begun to have blended interests. Alexander the Molossian, king of Epeiros, had essayed to do in Italy that which his nephew, the son of Philip, accomplished in the East. He was killed in 326 B. C. by a Lucanian, and his projects perished with him.² The wonderful successes of the Macedonians in Asia caused some anxiety in Rome, if we may believe Livy, who asks himself what consul the Senate would have sent against Alexander. In the time of Pyrrhos, another Epeirot, the danger was greater, and the Romans averted it by the victory at Beneventum;³ in subsequent years they completed the conquest of Magna Græcia, which placed them between two seas, upon which they had to preserve order. By the conquest of Corsica and Sardinia, after the First Punic War, the western half of the Mediterranean became

BRONZE COIN.⁴

a Roman lake; and for the same motives of affording protection to the commerce of their new subjects, they were led to send into the eastern Mediterranean their fleets and legions.

The coast of Illyria, protected by innumerable islands, had long been inhabited by dangerous bandits, who, according to the opportunity, ravaged now by land, now by sea. The Italians

¹ Polybios, xvi. fr. 14.

² See *History of Rome*, i. 425-6.

³ *History of Rome*, vol. i. chapter xvi.

⁴ BOYAH. Veiled head of the Senate (Βουλῇ) personified, right profile. Reverse: ANTIOXEΩN. Victory, standing, left profile, holding a palm and a crown. (Coin of Antiocheia in Karia.)

who sailed the Adriatic had cause to complain of these pirates, but they were much more harmful to Greece, which, like a body in dissolution, could be preyed upon by the meanest of enemies. The Illyrians felt themselves a match for the Aitolians and the



1. Coin of Korkyra Nigra.

2. Coin of Herakleia.

COINS OF THE ILLYRIAN ISLANDS.¹

Epeirots. They had taken Phoinike, the richest city of Epeiros, had pillaged Elis and Messenia, and had made an alliance with the Akarnanians. These successes were not calculated to make these "sea-swallows" more cautious in respect to the trading-



1.

2.

COINS OF ELIS.²

vessels of Adria, Brundusium, and Tarentum, whose owners cried out so loudly that the Roman Senate, already not disposed to grant the pirates much license, sent envoys to the widow of their late king. Teuta ruled, in the name of her son Pineus, over a part of Illyria, and she replied haughtily that it was not the custom of the Illyrian kings to prohibit their subjects from making expeditions for their own profit. On this the youngest of the envoys, Coruncanius, replied: "Among us, O queen, the custom is

¹ 1. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: *KOPKYPAION*; ear of wheat. (Bronze.) 2. Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: *HPAKA*[*εωρών*]; bow and club.

² 1. Diademed head of Here, right profile, with the legend *ΦΑΛΕΙΩΝ*. Reverse: eagle with wings displayed, standing to the left, in a wreath of olive-leaves. (Silver.) 2. Eagle to the left, carrying off a hare. Reverse: in an incused square, *ΦΑΛΕΙΩΝ*; a Victory seated, to the right, on a tomb (?) in an attitude of grief; she holds in her right hand a wreath of olive-leaves. (Didrachm from the collection of the monastery of St. Florian, Austria.)

never to leave unpunished injuries suffered by our fellow-citizens; and we shall so act in this case, if it please the gods, that you will proceed to reform the customs of the Illyrian kings." Teuta was so exasperated that she caused the young envoy to be assassinated on his way home. The piratical expeditions of the Illy-



VIEW IN ILLYRIA (EPIDAMNOS).¹

rians became more numerous: Korkyra was taken, Epidamnus and Apollonia were besieged, and an Achaian fleet was defeated.

It was a favorable opportunity for the Romans to show themselves in Greece. The Senate perceived the advantage that could be derived from these events, and took openly the attitude of protector of the Greeks,—a part which it played to the end with



1.

COINS OF THE ISLAND OF ISSA.²

2.

so much success. In order to give a great idea of the power of Rome, there were despatched against these inconsiderable enemies two hundred galleys, twenty thousand legionaries, and the two consuls,—that is to say, a much larger force than had been sent against Carthage at the beginning (229 B. C.). Korkyra was given up by a traitor, Demetrios; the Illyrians besieged Issa, in the

¹ View of Epidamnus (Dyrrachion), from Henzey and Daumet, *Mission archeologique de Macédoine*, pl. 27.

² 1. Head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΙΣ[τέων]; he-goat, standing to the right. (Bronze.) 2. ΙΣ[τέων]. Dionysiac kantharos. Reverse: bunch of grapes. (Bronze.)



MAP FOR THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE ROMANS IN GREECE.

island of the same name (Lissa): they were driven out, and no one of the places which made an attempt to resist was able to withstand the Roman attack. Teuta, in alarm, granted all that Rome demanded, — a tribute, the cession of a part of Illyria, the promise not to send more than two vessels beyond the mouth of the Lissos, and the heads of her principal counsellors, to appease by their blood the angry manes of the young Coruncanius (228 B.C.). The Greek cities subjugated by the Illyrians, Korkyra and Apollonia, were restored to independence.



COIN OF KORKYRA.¹

The consuls hastened to make known this treaty to the Greeks, reminding them that it was for their protection that the Romans had crossed the sea. The deputies presented themselves in all the cities, receiving the acclamations of the multitude: at Corinth they were admitted to the Isthmian Games, at Athens they received citizenship, and they were initiated into the Mysteries of Eleusis. Thus began the first relations between Rome and Greece.



COINS OF THE ISLAND OF PHAROS.²

The Romans had given Demetrios the island of Pharos and some districts of Illyria. Not feeling sufficiently recompensed, he united with the corsairs, and drew with him into revolt the Illyrian king Pineus. Again the Senate sent a consul into Illyria. Demetrios fled to the king of Macedon, and soon persuaded him to take arms against the Romans, while Pineus once more accepted the conditions of the first treaty (219 B.C.). Thus Rome possessed on the Greek mainland good harbors and an extensive province, — an outpost protecting Italy and threatening Macedon.



COIN OF APOLLONIA.³

¹ Fore-part of a cow, to the right. Reverse: a flower with eight petals expanded, and surrounded with stars; around the field, a beading. (Silver.)

² 1. Head of Zeus, left profile. Reverse: he-goat, to the left. (Silver.) 2. Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile. Reverse: $\Phi\Lambda\rho\iota\omega\nu$; kantharos. (Bronze.)

³ Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ ; obelisk (or perhaps a *bethylos*); the whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath. (Bronze.)

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE ROMANS IN GREECE; PROCLAMATION OF HELLENIC LIBERTY (214-195 B.C.).

I. — FIRST MACEDONIAN WAR.

IN 217 B.C. Philip visited Argos, and was witnessing the celebration of the Nemean Games, when a courier arrived from Macedon bringing news that the Romans had lost a great battle at the lake of Trasimene, and that Hannibal was master of Northern Italy. The king showed this letter to no one but Demetrios of

Pharos, who urged him to go at once into Illyria, and thence pass over into Italy. Demetrios represented to the king that Greece, already submissive, would continue to obey him; that the Achaians had entered willingly and even cordially into his interests; that



COIN OF CARTHAGE.¹

the Aitolians, alarmed at the presence of war, would not fail to imitate them; that, finally, if he wished to render himself master of the world,—a noble ambition, which he had every right to cherish,—it was now his opportunity to cross the Adriatic and crush the Romans, already half destroyed by Hannibal. And the historian adds: “These words were very gratifying to a king young, brave, hitherto successful in his enterprises, and born of a race which had always aspired to universal dominion” (Polybios).

¹ Head of Demeter, with a wreath of wheat-ears, left profile. Reverse: horse's head, to the right. (Silver.)

The ambitious designs in which two brave men, Alexander the Molossian and Pyrrhos, had failed, were now set before the mind of the feeble successor to the throne of Macedon by his Illyrian adviser. Neither the king nor his counsellor was alarmed at feeling the world shaken by the collision of Rome and Carthage. Deceived by their chimerical hopes, they did not read that in the book of fate, which is written by courage and prudence, the Romans were already designated as the heirs of Alexander. To have his hands free at this conjuncture, Philip granted the peace which had

been solicited by the vanquished Aitolians. If he had rationally regarded the situation he would have done this, but with the intention of defending the independence of Greece. However, in the assembly, when the

treaty of peace was made, with the agreement that each should retain what he already had, a voice was raised to give warning of the peril. "Let Greece unite," said Agelaos of Naupaktos; "let Greece be mindful of the great armies which are now disputing the battle-fields of Italy. That strife will soon end; Rome or Carthage will be victorious: whichever side is the conqueror will come to seek us at our hearthstones. Be attentive, O Greeks, and thou above all, O Philip the king! Let discords cease, and all labor henceforth to prevent the danger!"

Men listened to the orator, but they forgot what he had said; ambition, hatred, and jealousy remained in all hearts. Aitolia and Sparta could not pardon the Achaian League for having had recourse to foreigners, or Philip for having intervened, and that victoriously. Philip himself forgot the wise advice of Agelaos to respect the liberty of the Greeks and make himself loyally their protector. His ministers, and particularly Demetrios of Pharos, urged him to make conquest of the Peloponnesos.



TETRADRACHM OF PHILIP III. (OR V.)¹

¹ Macedonian shield in the *umbo* of which is represented the head of the hero Perseus, wearing the winged Phrygian helmet, its crest an eagle's beak; on the shoulder Perseus carries the *harpa*; around the edge of the shield are stars and crescents. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; club; in the field, three monograms; the whole in a wreath of oak-leaves.

On one occasion, at Messene, he obtained permission to enter the citadel of Ithome with his guards, to offer a sacrifice there. Demetrios and Aratos accompanied him. The victim being slain, he called them to look at the entrails, saying: "Do they not indicate that we ought to keep this fort?" "If you have the soul of a soothsayer," replied Demetrios, "you will restore it; but if of a king, with Ithome and the Akrokorinthos, you will hold the two



VIEW OF MOUNT ITHOME.¹

horns of the bull." Aratos remained silent; and being urged to give his opinion, "The strongest fort a king can have," he said, "is confidence and affection." Philip hesitated, much embarrassed, and finally said: "Let us go, then, as we came." The ascendancy of Aratos was still very great.

This, however, was the last success of this prudent statesman, who, insulted by the courtiers of Philip, lost his influence more and more. Spoiled by power, that dangerous master, Philip abandoned

¹ From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxvii. 304. At the left, at the foot of the mountain, is the convent of Voukano.

himself to all excesses. He offered an unpardonable insult to the younger Aratos, bringing disgrace into his house, and ended by regarding Aratos himself as an enemy of whom he would willingly be rid.

“Not wishing to attempt anything against him in the way of open force, he, Philip, desired Phonon, one of his officers, to take him off in some secret manner; at the same time he recommended poison. That officer, having accordingly formed acquaintance with Aratos, gave him a dose, not of a sharp or violent kind, but such a one as causes lin-



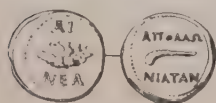
THE COLUMN OF APOLLONIA.¹

gering heats and a slight cough, and gradually destroys life. Aratos was not ignorant of the cause of his disorder, but knowing that it availed nothing to discover it to the world, he bore it quietly and in silence, as if it had been an ordinary illness. But once when a friend came to visit him in his chamber, and expressed surprise at his condition, ‘Such, Kephalon,’ said the dying man, ‘are the fruits of royal friendship’” (Plutarch).

He died at Aigeion, after having been seventeen times strategos (213 B.C.). His body was interred at Sikyon, in the most conspicuous portion of the city. The place was called the Arateion, and here, four centuries later, the worship of the dead hero was still observed with solemn rites and sacrifices.

¹ From Heuzey and Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, pl. 31.

Aratos had lived long enough to see the opening of the struggle between Philip and Rome. Some time after the peace concluded with the Aitolians, the king had equipped a hundred vessels in the Adriatic to drive the Romans from Greek territory. The battle of Cannæ (216 B. C.) increased his hopes. He sent

SILVER COIN.¹

envoys to Hannibal, who concluded a treaty of alliance with the Carthaginian, by which Philip agreed to furnish two hundred galleys and ravage the coasts of Italy. After the victory, Rome, Italy, and the spoils should belong to Hannibal and the Carthaginians; they would then cross over into Greece, make war on all kings or peoples whom Philip should designate, subject to him the cities of the mainland, and abandon to him the islands adjacent to Macedon. Philip executed very imperfectly his share of this imprudent treaty, which imposed on him all the present burdens for the hope of a very uncertain future. He did not equip the two hundred vessels promised, he gave the Romans time to arm a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys superior to his, and the following year, besieging Apollonia,



1.

COINS OF ELIS.²

2.

he allowed himself to be surprised and defeated off the mouth of the Aoiüs by the prætor Levinus, who compelled him to burn his vessels (214 B. C.). A single legion had sufficed to drive the king from these coasts.

BRONZE COIN.³

After having closed to Macedon the route of the Adriatic, Levinus occupied himself in creating difficulties for Philip in

¹ Coin of Apollonia (Illyria). AINEA, a magistrate's name; a heap of perfumes burning. Reverse: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ; a shepherd's crook.

² 1. Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: FA[λείων]. Horse, to the right, scratching the ground with his foot; underneath, AP, initials of a magistrate's name. (Silver.)
2. Eagle to the right, devouring a hare. Reverse: FA[λείων]; thunderbolt. (Silver.)

³ ΙΕΡΑ CΥΝΚΑΗΤΟC; laurelled head of the personified Senate, right profile. Reverse: ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ Μ Ακεδόνων; eagle with wings displayed, standing on a thunderbolt. (Coin of Blaundos in Lydia.)

Greece. The Aitolians accepted the Senate's alliance, with the promise that Rome would take only the spoils, leaving to them all the cities, with Akarnania and half of Epeiros. The Eleians followed, as usual, the example of the Aitolians. The Messenians and Pleuratos, king of Illyria, accepted the protection that was offered them. Sparta at last, through hatred of the Achaian League, and Athens, jealous also of these little cities which were now making so much more stir in the world than herself, went over to the side of the foreigner (211 B. C.).

From that moment until the treaty of 205 B. C. there was nothing great in Greece. There was not even manifested the energy of the war between the two leagues, as if the shadow of



1.

COINS OF PHILIP III. (OR V.)¹

2.

Rome already lay upon the land; Roman arms had weakened Philip, and Roman policy had sown further dissensions among the States of Greece. Until the time of Rome's final and more decisive intervention, each made war against every other, without results, but with much cruelty. Antikirrha, Dyme, Oreos, and Aigina were frightfully ravaged, and the inhabitants sold as slaves. While Philip gained some advantage over the Aitolians, on the other hand Attalos, king of Pergamon, took from him several cities. In the Peloponnesos, Sparta, completing her revolutionary cycle, gave herself up to the tyrant Machanidas, who made a predatory warfare against the Achaians. The league had lasted only the period of a human life, and already it was decrepit with age. Luxury and effeminacy had crept into it; the army was disorganized, the military service neglected, even in the cavalry. One man, Philopoimen of Megalopolis, a good citizen and a skilful officer,

¹ 1. Diademed head of Philip, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; a club; the whole in a wreath of oak-leaves. (Silver.) 2. Beardless head of Herakles, wearing the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑ[σιλέως] Φ[ίλιππου]; two he-goats lying down, to the right; in the field, a wheat-ear. (Bronze.)

succeeded, however, in restoring some vitality to this association, which, in losing the power to defend itself, seemed to have lost all the other elements of strength. Philopoimen revived the military spirit, made reforms as to the arms and the drill of the soldiers, and constructed for himself a small Achaian phalanx, copied from that of Macedon. This reform gave him a victory over Machanidas, whom he slew with his own hand. The battle took place near Mantinea, and Polybios fought at his general's side. But what profit was derived from this victory? Philopoimen immediately after went away to fight in Krete, leaving events to take their course, without his guidance, in his native country.

After these protracted but unimportant wars, peace was made in 205 B. C.; Philip at first signed a separate agreement with the Aitolians, and then treated with the Romans: the country of the Parthenians and many districts of Illyria were added to the Roman territory.

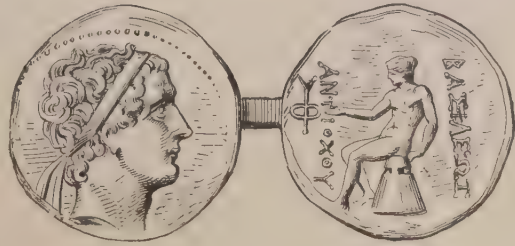
II. — SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR (200–197 B. C.).

THE Romans regarded this peace as merely a suspension of hostilities which gave them the opportunity to devote their whole attention to settling their great quarrel with Carthage. Philip did not understand that this was merely a respite granted him; instead of making ready for the renewal of the struggle with Rome, he wasted his strength in a useless war against Attalos and Rhodes. He laid siege to Pergamon, but in vain, and was defeated at sea by the Rhodians; but on the Thracian coasts he seized many cities, and in Mysia six seaport towns, among others Abydos. To protect himself in Thrace against an ally of Rome, dangerously situated for Macedon, was wise; but to endeavor to make conquests in Asia Minor was both useless and imprudent. It was not for his interest to extend himself, that is, to render himself more vulnerable, but to draw his lines closer. Also, why offend Rome by a feeble aid of four thousand men sent to Hannibal, just now making his escape from Italy? It was indeed too late to attempt to save Carthage.

The Greek allies of Rome reported to the Senate this sending

of aid to the Carthaginians; at the same time the Aitolians and the Athenians accused Philip of ravaging their territory, and Attalos and the Rhodians reproached him for his attempts upon Asia. Philip evidently was ambitious, and he had little affection for Rome. This might have been suspected for a long time, but it had not suited the Senate to take notice of it until after the battle of Zama.

A declaration of war was made, so the consuls said to the Romans, in order to anticipate the action of Philip himself, and not await this new adversary in Italy, as Pyrrhos and Hannibal had there been awaited. There had been scarcely time to breathe since the African war and the sanguinary struggle of sixteen years. This indefatigable people, notwithstanding their desire for repose, admitted the specious arguments of the consul Sulpicius. They had that great and rare courage which will not rest, so long as there remains something to do.

TETRADRACHM.¹

Philip had allied himself with Antiochos of Syria and Prousius of Bithynia to seize the Thracian and Asiatic possessions of the king of Egypt, Ptolemy Epiphanes, whom Rhodes and Attalos defended. In Greece, Sparta, under Nabis, the hated successor of Machanidas; Athens, just now interchanging rights of citizenship with Rhodes; the Aitolians, who ruled almost from one sea to the other,⁵ and

DIDRACHM.²

held the pass of Thermopylai, — were his declared enemies, and his excesses had left him only lukewarm friends. Sulpicius Galba, sent against him, took only two legions; Carthage supplied the

¹ Coin of Antiochos III. of Syria. Diademed head of Antiochos III., right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; Apollo, nude, seated to the left, on the *omphalos*; he holds an arrow in his right hand, and a bow in his left; in the field, a monogram.

² Uncovered, beardless head of a Numidian king (Masinissa?), left profile. Reverse: horse, to the right; in the background, a palm-tree. (Coin attributed to Masinissa.)

³ Livy mentions several cities of Phokis which were on Philip's side.

Roman with wheat, Masinissa sent him Numidians, Rhodes and Atalos their vessels, and the Aitolians, after some hesitation, their cavalry.—the best in Greece. Nabis, without declaring for Rome, was already in open war with the Achaïans.

As soon as operations began, Philip, notwithstanding his activity, found himself as it were enveloped in a network of enemies. A lieutenant of Sulpicius, sent to the aid of Athens, burned Chalkis, the principal city of Euboia; the Aitolians, with the Athamanians, ravaged Thessaly; Pleuratos, king of Illyria, and the Dardanians came down upon Macedon; finally, another Roman officer pushed a reconnoissance as far as into Dassaretia. On this side Sulpicius

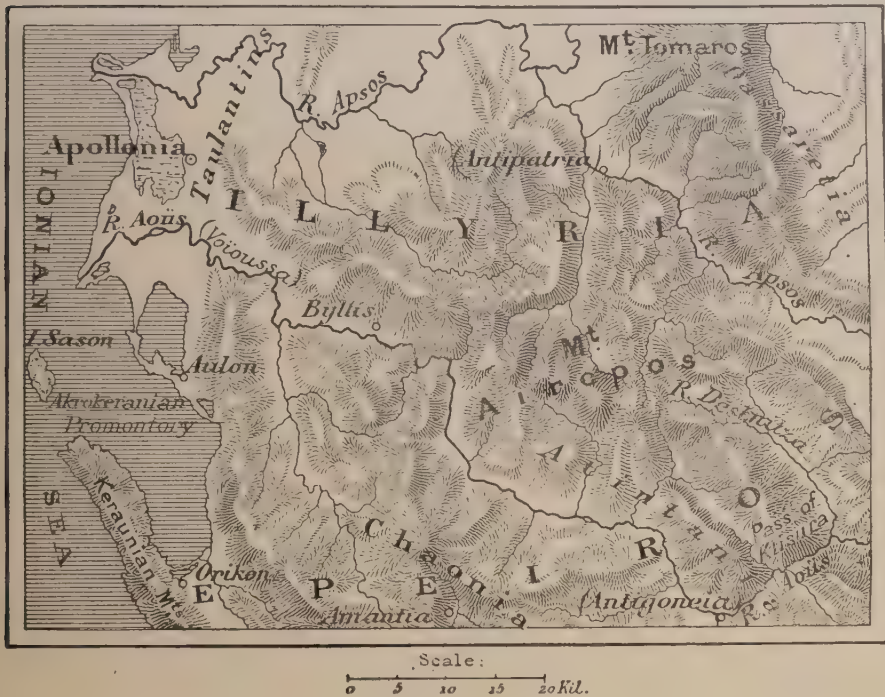


COINS OF CARTHAGE.¹

made his attack,—that is to say, by way of Lychnidos and the road which later became the Via Egnatia, directing himself upon the strongly fortified position of Herakleia (near Monastir). Philip arrived in time to protect the city, and closed against the Romans the defile through which they could have come down upon the fertile plains of Lynkestis. But in these mountains the Macedonian phalanx was useless; and although Philip had gathered a force of twenty-six thousand men, he could not prevent the Romans from turning his position on the north and descending into the plain by way of Pelagonia. Sulpicius thus found himself, after a few months, in the heart of Macedon. But winter was approaching; without stores or fortifications, he could not spend the cold season in an enemy's country, and he therefore returned to Apollonia.

¹ Head of Demeter, with a wreath of wheat-ears, left profile. Phœnician legend: קרת חרשת (*Qarth-hadasat* = Carthage). Reverse: horse, to the left; in the background, a palm tree. (Tetradrachm.) 2. Fore-part of a horse, galloping to the left, and crowned by a Victory; before him, a grain of barley. Reverse: a palm-tree; Phœnician legend, קרת חרשת (*Qarth-hadasat* = Carthage). (Tetradrachm.)

During the summer the combined fleet had driven from the Cyclades the garrisons of Philip; they had taken Orea, and pillaged the coasts of Macedon (200 B. C.). Some predatory expeditions into Attika, slight advantages gained over the Aitolians, who had attacked Thessaly, and the capture of Maroneia, a rich and powerful city of Thrace, were not enough to counterbalance for Philip the danger of having allowed the enemy to penetrate into the very heart of his kingdom.



MAP OF THE LOWER AOÛS.¹

The new consul, Villius, found the Roman army mutinous, and passed the rest of the campaign in re-establishing discipline (199 B. C.). He succeeded, it would seem, only in sending away the mutineers, who, having set out in this war with the hope of a rapid expedition and rich booty, had obtained neither the one nor the other. At least, it is certain that the successor of Villius had to bring with him nine thousand new troops. Encouraged by the Roman inaction, Philip took the offensive, and established him-

¹ Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 302.

self on the two banks of the Aoüs, near Antigoneia, in an almost impregnable position, covering Thessaly and Epeiros, whence also he could cut the Romans off from their communications with the sea, in case they should attempt to enter Macedon as Sulpicius had done.



T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.¹

At Rome there was great displeasure at these delays, and T. Q. Flamininus was made consul, — a man who had as yet been only quæstor, but whose reputation was greater than his actual services warranted. A good general, a better statesman, in mind pliant and crafty, more Greek than Roman in character, Flamininus was the true originator of the Machiavellian policy which gave Greece over, almost disarmed, to the Romans.

He did no better at first than his predecessor. The fruitless attempt of Sulpicius had shown that Macedon was with difficulty reached across the mountains in the northwest; and an attack on the south by the fleet had led only to useless pillage. It was proposed now to make a direct advance. But Philip had taken up his position in a gorge, hemmed in by two mountains whose barren and abrupt cliffs descended to the river, which occupied almost the whole width of the pass.²

During six weeks Flamininus remained before the camp, which it was impossible to attack. Every day skirmishes took place; “but when the Romans attempted to climb the mountain side, they were met with showers of arrows and darts from the Macedonians here and there on their flank. Accordingly, the skirmishes were very sharp for the time that they lasted, and many were

¹ Marble bust in the *Cabinet de France* (No. 3,293 of the *Catalogue*). Cf. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, i. 60.

² Livy, xxxii. 5. This defile is now the Klissoura, at the junction of the Destnitza and the Voïoussa (Aoüs). “This deep and gloomy gorge is shut in by the steep sides of two mountains, which leave between their bases a space not over sixty fathoms broad, which the river almost completely occupies” (Pouqueville, i. 292 *et seq.*).

killed and wounded on both sides; but this was not enough to decide the result of a war." (Plutarch.) Discouragement was beginning to spread through the Roman camp, when Charops, an Epeirot chief whose country had been wasted by the Macedonian army, furnished the consul with the means of ending this dangerous inaction. He sent him a shepherd, who, pasturing his flock in the defile, had thus become familiar with all the mountain-paths, and now offered to lead the Romans in three days to a position whence they could look down upon the enemy's camp. After satisfying

1. COIN OF GOMPHOL.¹2. COIN OF KARYSTOS.¹3. COIN OF ERETRIA.¹

himself that the shepherd came from Charops, Flaminius selected from his best troops a corps of four thousand foot and three hundred horse, gave them orders to advance only by night, the moon giving sufficient light at the time to guide them, and on their arrival at the place designated by the shepherd, to kindle a great fire, and thus announce to the legions the success of their enterprise. The consul had made sure of the guide by two efficient means, — a promise of large reward if he remained faithful, and an order to the soldiers to kill him if it should prove that he had led them into an ambuscade. To attract the attention of the Macedonians towards the banks of the river, attacks which seemed serious were kept up unremittingly during two days. On the third day, at a given signal, a loud shout is heard from the depths of the valley, and an answering cry from the heights above the royal camp. The Macedonians, attacked in front and threatened in the rear, are panic-stricken; they flee, and make no stop until they reach Thessaly, behind the mountain range of Pindos.²

¹ 1. Nymph's head, three-quarters to the right, hair floating and twisted. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠ[Ο]ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ; Zeus Akraios seated to the left on Mount Pindos; in the left hand he holds a sceptre, in the field a thunderbolt. (Drachma.) 2. Head of Poseidon, right profile. Reverse: ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩΝ; trident, with a dolphin around it. (Bronze.) 3. Head of the nymph Euboia, right profile. Reverse: ΕΡΕΤΡΕΩΝ; two bunches of grapes; above, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ, a magistrate's name. (Silver.)

² Tradition as to this event still remains in Epeiros, — travestied, however, into one of

At news of this victory, which gave Epeiros to Flaminius, the Aitolians fell upon Thessaly, and Amyndandros, king of the Athamanians, opened to the Romans the entrance into that province through the defile of Gomphi. Philip, not daring to risk another engagement, fell back into the valley of Tempe, after having pillaged the open country, burned the unwall'd cities, and driven the inhabitants into the mountains. This action

BRONZE COIN.¹

was in striking contrast to that of the Romans, whom Flaminius required to observe the strictest discipline, and who had suffered from hunger rather than carry off provisions in Epeiros.² Accordingly, many places opened their gates, and Flaminius had already arrived on the banks of the Peneus, when the brave resistance of Atrax arrested his victorious march. Near there stood the important city of Larissa, which the Macedonians occupied in force. The consul retreated.

SILVER COIN.³

During this campaign the allied fleet had taken, in Eubœia, the cities of Karystos and Eretria (198 B. C.), "whence the Romans carried off a great number of statues, pictures of old painters, and masterpieces of every kind." The Macedonians found in these places were obliged to give up their weapons and pay a ransom of three hundred sesterces per man.

Instead of losing the winter, as his predecessors had done, by returning into camp near Apollonia, Flaminius led his legions to Antikirrha, on the Gulf of Corinth, where vessels from Korkyra (Corfu), his port of supplies, could bring him safely all the provisions of which he had need. He found himself thus in the centre of Greece. While his troops went on taking the small cities of Phokis and besieging the stronghold of Elateia, which they at last

those legends with which the popular imagination envelops historic facts (Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, vol. i. p. 302, note 2).

¹ Coin of Antikirrha. Bust of Poseidon, right profile, with the trident on his shoulder. Reverse: ANTIKYPEΩN; Artemis the huntress going to the right, accompanied by her dog. The type is that of a statue by Praxiteles, in a temple of Antikirrha (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vi. 15).

² Livy, xxxii. 14, 15.

³ Coin of Korkyra. ΚΟΡ[κυραίων] Diademed head of Here, right profile. Reverse: Κ; a star with eight rays.

took, his negotiations and his threats, the advice of the partisans of Rome, and new hostilities on the part of Nabis, compelled the Achaïans to accept his alliance.¹ He had promised to restore to



DEMETER (?).²

them Corinth; but the Macedonian garrison repulsed all attacks, and even made capture of Argos, which was then given up to Nabis. This reckless tyrant at once proclaimed these two laws:

¹ Philip had, however, restored to the league, at the beginning of this campaign, Orchomenos, Heraia, and Triphylia, and to the Eleians, Aliphera (Livy, xxxii. 5).

² Greek marble brought from Apollonia by M. Henzey, and now in the Museum of the Louvre. The head is covered with a veil, and the name of Demeter has been suggested for the figure.

the abolition of all debts, and the division of the territory,—showing well the character of all the revolutions of that time. Nabis, having obtained from Philip all he could hope for, went over to the Roman party; and already the rest of the Peloponnesos had joined it.

Flamininus was anxious himself to terminate the war by a peace, or, better still, by a victory. Philip having asked for a conference, the Roman granted it, and on both sides were taken the jealous precautions so much employed in the Middle Ages. The king and the consul met each other near the coast in the Maliac Gulf. The king arrived on board a war-galley escorted by five vessels, but refused to land, and took part in the discussion from the prow of his galley.



COIN OF LARISSA.¹



SILVER COIN.²

“This is very inconvenient,” Flamininus said to him; “if you will come on shore, we can converse much more easily.” But the king refused to do this, and Flamininus rejoined, “Of what are you afraid?” “I am afraid of nothing but the immortal gods,” Philip said, “but I have no confidence in the people who surround you.” The time passed in vain recriminations; on the following day the king consented to land, on condition that Flamininus would send away the allied princes, and came on shore with two of his officers. The consul was attended only by a tribune. It was agreed there should be a truce of two months, during which the king and the allies should send deputies to the Senate. The Greek envoys set forth their grievances at great length; when the Macedonians, in their turn, proposed to reply in a long harangue, they were interrupted by the question whether their master would withdraw his garrisons from the Greek cities: they replied that they had no instruc-

¹ Thessalian horseman, galloping to the left. Reverse: the nymph Larissa, seated to the right, upon a seat, and arranging her hair by a mirror which she holds in her hand. (Diobolon.)

² Bearded and laurelled head of the African Herakles (Melkarth), left profile, with a club on the shoulder. Reverse: elephant walking to the right, guided by his driver, who is wrapped in an ample cloak. (Coin attributed variously to Micipsa, Masinissa, or Jugurtha.)

tions to that effect, and thereupon they were dismissed. This was in accordance with the wishes of Flaminius.

In Central Greece the Boiotians alone remained undecided.¹ Flaminius sought a conference with them outside the walls of Thebes; and when the strategos, Antiphilos, came to meet him,



CAPARISONED ELEPHANT'S HEAD.²

surrounded by the principal Thebans, the consul, accompanied by Attalos, and almost without guards, presented himself; he talked with the deputies one by one, flattering them and occupying their attention until he had led them back to the city and through the gates into the market-place, while the townspeople followed eagerly, curious to see the consul and to hear a Roman speaking the Greek language so fluently. But two thousand legionaries were near; and while Flaminius thus held the multitude spell-bound, they occupied the walls, and Thebes was taken.

¹ The Akarnanians remained faithful to Philip until the battle of Kynoskephalai.

² Bronze of the former Gréau collection, from the catalogue of sale

In this somewhat unusual winter campaign Flaminius had conquered Greece and deprived Philip of all resources outside his own kingdom. It was possible now to make a direct attack upon him. At the return of spring the consul advanced as far as Pherai in

GOLD COIN.¹

Thessaly at the head of twenty-six thousand men, of whom six thousand were Greeks, and among these, five hundred Kretans. Philip, who during twenty years had been wasting his strength in useless enterprises, could now bring together no more than twenty-five thousand men, enrolling even boys of sixteen;² of this number sixteen thousand composed the phalanx.

To the Senate's diplomacy rather than to its arms had been due the honors of the First Macedonian War. Now the legion, with its rapid movements and its missiles, the long lance and the heavy *pilum*, was to be matched against the phalanx of Alexander, which for nearly a century and a half had been reputed the most formidable engine of war ever invented by man.

AUREUS.³

The Romans were on the shores of the Pagasetic Gulf, within reach of their fleet; Philip was at Larissa, his headquarters. The two armies advanced to meet each other, and for two days marched side by side, separated by a chain of hills, without either suspecting this dangerous neighborhood.

The battle took place June, 197 B. C., near Skotoussa, in a plain having many small hillocks, called the Dogs' Heads,—Kynoskephalai. The Aitolian cavalry began the engagement, and Philip had neither time nor means to bring his phalanx into action. On this irregular ground it lost its strength in losing its unity; the shock of Masinissa's elephants, an attack skilfully made on its rear, and the unequal pressure of the legionaries, broke it: eight

¹ Coin of Philip III. (or V.). Head of the hero Perseus, right profile, with a helmet winged, and surmounted by an eagle's head; before him, the *harpā*. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; a club.

² Livy, xxxiii. 1-3.

³ Head of T. Quinctius Flaminius, right profile. Reverse: T. QVINCTI (*Titus Quinctius*). Victory, standing to the left, holding a palm in the left hand and a wreath in the outstretched right hand. (Aureus struck at the time when Flaminius had just proclaimed the liberty of Greece.)

thousand Macedonians remained on the battle-field. The destruction of this phalanx, which the Greeks were accustomed to believe invincible, gave them an admiration for the courage and tactics of the Romans which Polybios himself shares.

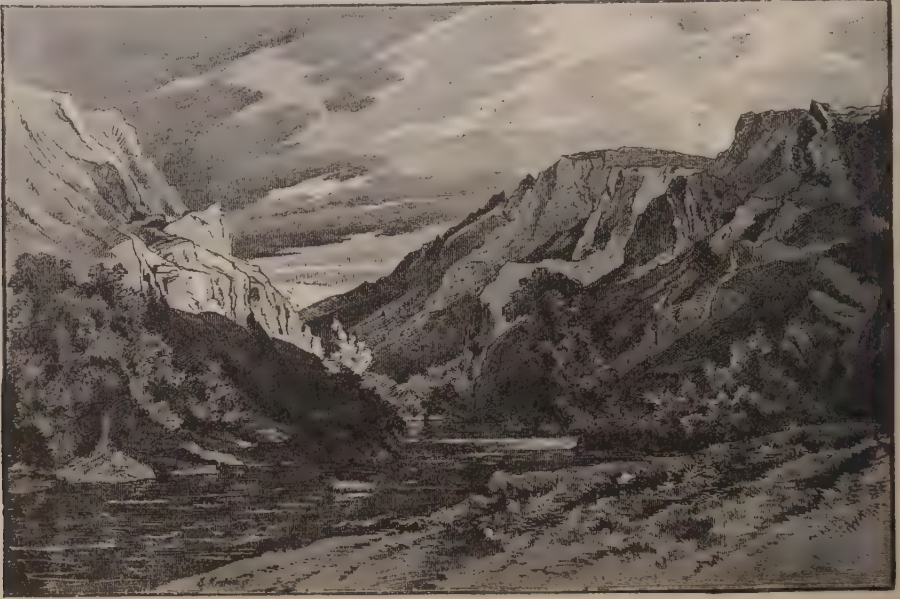
Philip took refuge with the remnant of his army in the city of Gonnos, at the entrance of the gorges of Tempe, on the high-road from Thessaly into Macedon. He there protected his kingdom; but not having strength to continue the struggle, he asked to negotiate. The Aitolians wished to push the war to its last extreme. Flamininus replied, boasting of the Roman humanity. "Faithful to their custom of sparing the vanquished," he said, "they would not destroy a kingdom which protected Greece against the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Gauls," and whose existence — but this he did not say openly — was necessary to the Senate, to keep in check the turbulence of the Aitolians. Philip recalled his garrisons from the cities and islands of Greece and Asia which they still occupied, left the Thessalians free, and surrendered to the Perrhaiboi — that is to say, to the Romans — Gonnos, the very gate of his kingdom. He gave up his fleet, with the exception of five transports; disbanded his army, except five thousand men; promised not to keep a single war-elephant; paid five hundred talents, and pledged himself to pay fifty as annual tribute for the next ten years; and took an oath to make no war without the Senate's consent.

After being thus disarmed as a general, he was humiliated as king by being compelled to receive, and to leave free and unpunished, the Macedonians who had betrayed him. Flamininus even stipulated for the independence of the inhabitants of Orestis, a Macedonian district which had revolted during the war, and was itself one of the keys of the Macedonian kingdom on the side of Roman Illyria. Finally, Philip was required to give hostages, in whose number the Romans insisted upon having his son Demetrios.

TETRADRACHM.¹

¹ Diademed head of Antiochos III., right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY; Apollo, nude, seated to the left, on the *omphalos*; he holds a bow and an arrow; in the field. an amphora.

At the moment when Macedon accepted the disastrous treaty, the king of Syria, Antiochos, at the instigation of Hannibal, was making ready for war. "Flaminius," says Plutarch, "in placing peace between these two wars, ending one before the other began, ruined at one blow the last hope of Philip and the first of Antiochos."



SITE OF GONNOS, AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE VALLEY OF TEMPE.¹

The commissioners sent by the Senate to assist Flaminius in the negotiations with Philip wished to have Roman garrisons take the place of the Macedonian at Corinth, Chalkis, and Demetrios; but this would have been to throw off the mask too quickly. The Greeks would have readily understood that with "the chains of Greece" placed in Roman hands, all liberty would be but a vain show. Public opinion, so mobile in these States, was to be feared. Already the Aitolians, most daring of all, were exciting it by harangues and songs. They declared that their cavalry were the winners of the battle of Kynoskephalai, they accused the Romans of undervaluing their services, and they flouted the Greeks,

¹ From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*. Gonnos was situated south of Olympos, on the left bank of the Peneios. The city commanded the entrance to the defile of Tempe, and to a second pass which, cutting the spurs of Olympos, comes out at Herakleion.

who believed themselves free because there had been put upon their necks the fetters which they had before worn on their ankles. Flaminius saw plainly that the best means of putting an end to these accusations, and conquering in advance Antiochos, who now threatened to cross over into Europe, was to employ against him the weapon which had been so advantageously used against Philip; namely, the liberty of the Greeks.

III. — PROCLAMATION OF THE LIBERTY OF GREECE.

DURING the celebration of the Isthmian Games, when all Greece had assembled, a herald imposed silence and made this proclamation: "The Roman Senate and Titus Quinctius, conqueror of king Philip, restore their franchises, their laws, and their immunity from garrisons and tributes to the Corinthians, the Phokians, the Lokrians, to the island of Euboia, and to the States of Thessaly. All the Greeks of Europe and Asia are free." Great joy

burst forth at these words, and Flaminius was almost smothered with garlands and flowers.¹ "There is, then," they exclaimed, "a nation upon earth which fights, at its own risk, for the liberty of nations, which crosses the sea to



BRONZE COIN.²

put an end to tyranny, to establish the rule of equity, of justice, and of law!" To the liberator of Greece, as to a god, temples were erected which Plutarch found standing three centuries later, which had their priests, their sacrifices, and their hymns. "Sing, O maidens, the great Zeus, and Rome, and Titus, our deliverer!"

Thus this people, who could no longer do great things for liberty, were still able to love it ardently and to pay, with an apotheosis, for its deceitful semblance. When Flaminius embarked, the Achaians brought to him twelve hundred Roman prisoners of the

¹ Plutarch, *Flaminius*, 10.

² IEPA KYNTHIOTOC ; diatemed head of the personified Senate, right profile. Reverse: AΦPOΔEICTEΩN ; the god Kynthios standing to the left, a crescent on his shoulder, holding a sceptre and a patera. (Coin of Aphrodisias in Krete.)

Punic wars who had been sold in Greece and whom they had now purchased, in order to set them free. Only the Greeks knew how thus to express gratitude.

Rome accepted no share in the spoils of Macedon. Lokris and Phokis returned to the Aitolian League, and Corinth to the Achaian. To Pleuratos, the king of Illyria, were given Lychnidos and the country of the Parthenians adjacent to Macedon, and consequently giving access to it; to the Athamanian king, Amynan-



BRONZE COIN.¹

dro, all the places that he had taken during the war; to Eumenes the Pergameian, son of Attalos, the island of Aigina; to Athens, Paros, Delos, and Imbros; to Rhodes, the cities of Karia.² Thasos was declared free. The légions

remained in Greece because Antiochos was approaching, it was said, and the Romans, after having delivered the country, now proposed to defend it.

Flaminius had still further views in respect to Greece. Notwithstanding the gift of Corinth, the Achaians were incapable of resisting Nabis, the master of Gythion, Sparta, and Argos. This Nabis was a most unscrupulous tyrant, whose cruelty is historic.³ Rome, however, had readily received him into her alliance; she expelled him from it when she found herself no longer in need of him. In an assembly held at Corinth the proconsul represented to the allies the ancient and illustrious character of Argos. Was it right, he said, to leave one of the capitals of Greece in the hands of a tyrant? Whether Argos were free or in subjection mattered little to the Romans. Their glory in having enfranchised Greece would be a little tarnished thereby, no doubt; but if the allies did not fear for themselves the contagion of servitude, the Romans would not interfere, and would coincide with the wishes of the majority. The Achaians applauded this hypocritical advice, and armed eleven thousand men. Others flocked to their standard, and the allied force amounted, according to Livy, to fifty thousand men. This zeal caused anxiety to Flaminius; he wished to

¹ Coin of the Athamanes. Veiled head of Deione, right profile. Reverse: ATHAMANON ; Pallas standing to the left; she holds a spear and an owl.

² Livy, xxxiii. 30.

³ Polybios, xiii. fr. 6-8; xvi. 13.

humble Nabis, but not to destroy him. His intentional delays, his demands for money and provisions, discouraged the allies; they suffered him to negotiate with the tyrant, who gave up to him Argolis, Gythion, and the maritime cities (195 B. C.).

Thus Nabis remained in the Peloponnesos against the Achaians, as Philip in the north against the Aitolian League. Rome could now recall her legions, for with her deceitful words, "the liberty of the States," she had rendered union among them even more impossible, and hatreds more violent. In every city, moreover, she had her partisans,¹ — as at Thebes, where the boiotarch Brachyllas had just been assassinated by them, — and these men, in their blindness, urged Greece towards servitude. It was now no longer necessary to hold her in chains, and Flamininus without fear withdrew his garrisons from Chalkis, Demetrias, and the Akrokorinthos.

Before quitting Hellas he offered a wreath of gold to the god at Delphi, and consecrated in his temple silver shields, on which he had engraved Greek lines celebrating, not the victory at Kynoskephalai, but the restoration of liberty to the States of Greece. This was the agreement: the Romans wished to appear as liberators, and the Greeks willingly accepted this pretence. In reality, when Flamininus returned to receive his triumph at Rome, he carried thither that important protectorate of Greece which all the successors of Alexander had vainly endeavored to secure² (194 B. C.).

¹ It was said that certain men were in the pay of Rome, — Charops in Epeiros, Dikearchos and Antiphilos in Boiotia, Aristainos, and Diophanes in Achaia, Deinokrates in Messenia. But Polybios speaks of the virtues and the patriotism of Aristainos, and Rome was not wont to buy men's consciences with money. She exercised a corruption less base and more efficacious. In those States, as we have seen, there were always two parties, of which she took one under her protection and brought it to power, — habitually the rich class, "which had most interest in maintaining the public tranquillity" (Livy, xxxiv. 49, 51). This had been her policy in Italy, and was to be so everywhere else.

² Livy, xxxiii. 28. Flamininus, however, did not forget that the Senate and people required their generals to bring back gold. He poured into the treasury 3,713 pounds of gold in ingots, 43,270 pounds of silver, and 14,514 gold philips (Plut., *Flam.*, 14).

IV.—INTERVAL BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD MACEDONIAN WARS (195–172 B. C.).

WE have thus reached the last act of the drama; and yet it is at this very time that Greece is dreaming of recovered liberty and youth. For a moment, indeed, she has given way to a mad delight. Dying, she has welcomed life and believed in her own future. And indeed, as we have said, there was still strength in Aitolia, and even in the Achaian League, nor had Macedon yet been dismembered. But now the tomb opens to receive these last hopes. Rome, the city of the sword, is to lay off the mask



COINS OF THE AKARNANIANS, IN GENERE.¹

of false gentleness that she had worn with Flaminius, and to appear in all her severity in the person of the rude and ignorant Mummius.

We have to narrate the history of three events,—the downfall of the Aitolians, of Macedon, and of the Achaian League. The Aitolians perished first; the two others were destroyed almost together and by the same blow.

When Flaminius had withdrawn his legions, the Aitolians allowed their dissatisfaction to break forth. Liberty had been proclaimed for every city; but this was not for their interest. They had expected to receive the spoils of Macedon; but there was given to them neither Thessaly, which they desired, nor Akar-

¹ 1. AKAPNANQN. Apollo Kitharaidos, standing, to the right; in the field, two symbols or mint-marks. Reverse: NAYΣIMAXOΣ; bearded head of the Acheloös, right profile. (Silver. Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen Akarnaniens*, p. 30.) 2. Beardless head of the Acheloös, right profile. Reverse: AKAPNANQN: Apollo, nude, seated to the left on a throne, and holding his bow; before him, a monogram. (Silver.)

nesia, nor Leukadia, nor the cities which the treaty of alliance had promised, but only two poor countries, Lokris and Phokis. This was very little for the services rendered. This at least they said, boasting that they had opened Greece to the Romans, and everywhere been their guides. According to themselves, they alone had been the victors at Kynoskephalai; alone they had saved the honor and the life of Flamininus. "While we were fighting," an Aitolian said, "and shielding him with our bodies, I saw him all day long occupied with auspices, with vows, and with sacrifices, as if he had been a priest." Slighted as to their interests and

1. DIDRACHM.¹2. SILVER COIN.¹

humiliated in their pride by the haughty attitude of Flamininus, who replied coldly to their complaints, they resolved to punish so much ingratitude, and to bring into Greece an ally who would be more mindful of benefits received.

Thoas, their most influential man, was sent to the king of Syria, Antiochos III., whose hatred of the Romans, stimulated by Hannibal, was well known, and advised him to make Greece the theatre of the war. The Aitolians, said the deputy, would give him all the States as allies. Thoas returned with an agent of Antiochos, who was lavish of promises, — the armies of Asia, the elephants of India, and gold enough to buy Rome itself. Flamininus first caused the Aitolians to be approached by Athenian envoys, who advised the Panaitolikon to remain faithful to the Roman alliance. This advice was not well received; then Flami-

¹ 1. Statue of Aphrodite Aineias (*Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνεΐας*) standing, to the right; she holds an *akrostolion*, and her head is surmounted by a crescent; at her side is a stag; behind her, a sceptre surmounted by a dove; the whole in a laurel-wreath. Reverse: *ΔΕΥΚΑΔΙΩΝ ΔΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ*, a magistrate's name; ship's prow ornamented with a lion's head; in the field, a monogram and a woman's head. (Didrachm.) 2. Head of Pallas, right profile, with the Corinthian helmet; behind her, Apollo, nude, playing the lyre; in the field, *AN* (Anaktorion) in monogram. Reverse: Pegasus flying to the right; underneath, the monogram of Anaktorion. (Silver.) See above, p. 369.

ninus came in person, but succeeded no better. Thoas, and his faction, in the very presence of the proconsul, caused the assembly to decree war against Rome; and when the Roman asked for a copy of this decree, the strategos Damokritos, with insane insolence, rejoined "that he would shortly answer him from the Aitolian camp on the banks of the Tiber."

Nor did the Aitolians limit themselves to arrogant words. They began hostilities with their usual alacrity, and made in one day, without a declaration of war, attacks upon Chalkis, Demetrias, and Sparta. They failed at Chalkis, but they captured Demetrias. Called to Sparta by Nabis, they presented themselves



1. 2.
COINS OF THE LOKRIANS.¹

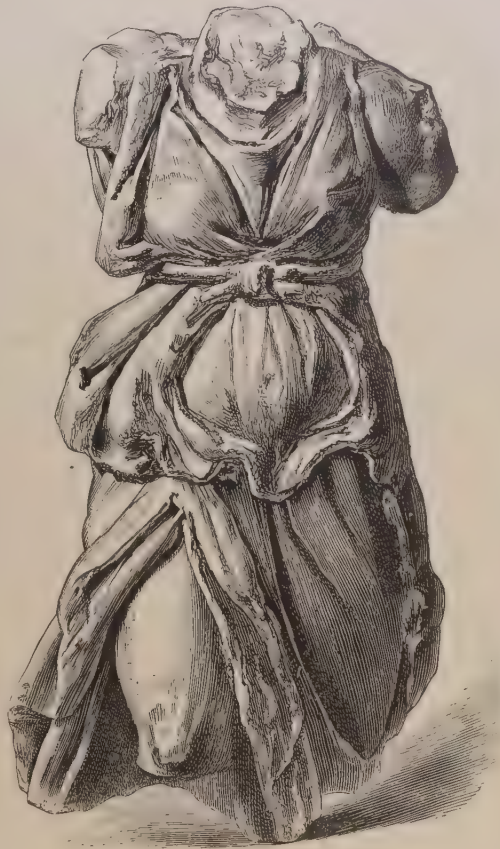
as allies, then murdered the tyrant, ransacked his palace, seized his treasures, and pillaged the city. The indignant Spartans armed themselves

against these plunderers, killed some, and drove the rest away. Philopoimen skilfully availed himself of this occasion; he hastened to Sparta with an army and induced the city to enter the league. "The Spartans, in their gratitude, sent him a hundred and twenty talents, produced by the sale of the possessions of Nabis. He advised them to keep their money to buy the silence of those who by their harangues in the council brought disturbance and confusion into the city."

There was still hope in the arrival of Antiochos; but both the king and the Aitolians were compelled to recognize their common boastfulness and their actual weakness. All the allies promised to Antiochos were reduced to the Magnetes, the Athamanians, and a few of the inhabitants of Elis and Boiotia. On his part, instead of myriads of men, he brought only ten thousand, for whose pay he was obliged to borrow money at heavy rates of interest, and whom he required the Aitolians to feed. By a close alliance with the king of Macedon, following the advice of Hannibal, he would have been able

¹ 1. Head of Persephone, crowned with wheat-ears, right profile. Reverse: ΔΟΚΡΩΝ; Aias, son of Oileus, nude, helmeted, fighting with sword and shield, to the right; before him, a trophy; in the field, a monogram formed of the letters ΟΠΟΥ. (Silver.) 2. Head of Pallas, with a Corinthian helmet, right profile. Reverse: ΔΟΚΡΩΝ; Aias, nude, fighting, with sword and shield to the right; in the field, a trident. (Bronze.)

to spread throughout Greece a conflagration not easily to be extinguished; instead of this he gave offence to Philip by insulting acts and unreasonable propositions. He spoke of rights derived from Seleukos, and supported the absurd claims of the son of Amyndros to the crown of Macedon. In his precipitate flight Philip had not been able to give funeral rites to his men who had fallen at Kynoskephalai. Antiochos collected their bones in a tomb which he caused to be built by his army. This pious care was a bitter reproach to the Macedonian, who replied to all these acts by sending to Rome for permission to fight.¹ The king of Syria attempted meanwhile to make the Achæians declare for him; and in a Panachaïkon held at Corinth, his ambassador, with Asiatic emphasis, made a long enumeration of the peoples who, from the Ægæan Sea to the Indos, were taking arms for his cause. "All this," Flamininus said, "reminds me of the feast of an innkeeper in Chalkis. In the midst of summer his table was covered with the most varied meats and game

TORSO OF A VICTORY.²

¹ Livy, xxxv. 47. Philip said, however, that Antiochos had offered him three thousand talents, fifty decked galleys, and the cession of all the Greek cities which had formerly belonged to him (xxxix. 26). But Antiochos doubtless made these offers either too soon or too late; for that Philip saw clearly the advantage that Rome derived from all these wars is proved by his words at Nikandros, *ap.* Polybios, xx. fr. 7.

² From the *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, vol. i. (1877), pl. ii. This torso, discovered at Laodikeia in Syria, is now in Vienna, in the collection of Admiral Millosicz. Cf. the same work, vol. ii. (1878), p. 9, No. 9 of the Catalogue. The name given to this figure is justified by the traces of wings attached to the shoulders. It is an interesting fragment of decorative sculpture.

of every kind; but it was only one kind of meat skilfully prepared. If you look closely, under these various names of Medes, Kadousioi, and the rest, you will find nothing but Syrians."

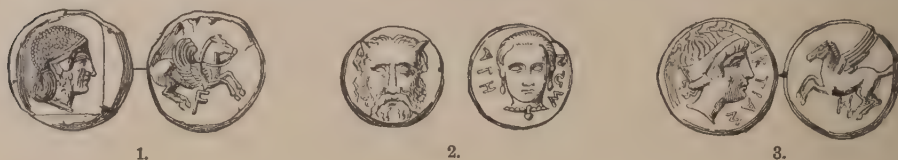


TETRADRACHM OF ANTIOCHOS III.¹

The activity of Flamininus defeated a conspiracy at Athens; but Chalkis, which he had not had time to succor, opened its gates, and the whole of Euboia went over to the enemy. Boiotia, where tumults were raised by certain men overwhelmed with

debt, Elis, and the Athamanians, always faithful to the Aitolians, followed this example.

Meantime Hannibal still gave the same advice to the king. "It is not all these powerless States that you ought to gain over, but Philip of Macedon. If he refuses, crush him between your



COINS OF THE AKARNANIAN LEAGUE.²

army and that which Seleukos commands at Lysimachia. Summon your troops and your vessels from Asia, let half your fleet be posted off Korkyra, the other half in the Tyrrhenian Sea, and yourself march upon Italy."³ But in this vast plan the Aitolians and their petty interests disappeared; the campaign was wasted in capturing successively one city after another in Thessaly; and during the winter Antiochos, notwithstanding his forty-eight years, forgot, in the celebration of a new marriage, that he had staked

¹ Diademed head of Antiochos III., the Great, right profile, surrounded by a necklace. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; an elephant, to the right; in the field, two monograms.

² 1. Diademed head of Pallas, right profile (archaic style), in an incused square. Reverse: F (initial of *Φαλακροπίων*); Pegasus flying to the right. (Silver.) 2. Bearded head of the Acheloös, front face. Reverse: ΑΘΗΜΩΝ, a magistrate's name; head of Kallirrhoe, front face. (Silver. Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen Akarnaniens*, p. 14.) 3. ΑΚΤΙΑΣ; head of the goddess of the Aktian Games, diademed, right profile, wearing a *sphendone*. Reverse: ΑΝΑ[κροπίων] in monogram; Pegasus galloping to the left. (Silver. Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen Akarnaniens*, p. 60.)

³ Livy, xxxvi. 3.

his crown against the Romans on the issue of the war. The Senate therefore had time to complete all preparations.

In the spring of the year 191 B. C. the consul Acilius Glabrio crossed the Adriatic and penetrated through Epeiros and Thessaly as far as Mount Oite, of which the extremity forms the defile of Thermopylai. Antiochos, who had just been repulsed in Akarnania by the feeblest of the Greek peoples, hoped to guard the pass with ten thousand men. Cato, the consular lieutenant, surprised two



1. Same.



2. Kranion.



3. Kranion



4. Pronesos.

COINS OF THE ISLAND OF KEPHALLENIA.¹

thousand Aitolians posted on the Kallidromos to defend the footpath of Ephialtes; at sight of the Roman cohorts coming over the mountain the king, who held Acilius in check in the defile, fled to Elateia, then to Chalkis, and thence made his escape to Ephesos. This battle of Thermopylai cost the consul a hundred and fifty men (July, 191 B. C.). "Let Athens no longer boast of her fame!" cried the Romans; "in Antiochos we have defeated a second Xerxes."

To stimulate the zeal of Philip, the Senate had relinquished to him in advance all the places of which he could make himself master. While Acilius, directing all his efforts against the Aitolians, persisted in the sieges of Herakleia and Naupaktos, Philip made rapid advances. He had already overrun four provinces, Aperantia and the country of the Dolopes, the Perrhaiboi and the Athamanians, but Flamininus kept watch upon him; he hastened to Naupaktos, pointed out to the consul the danger, and induced Acilius to grant the Aitolians a truce, which disarmed the king of

¹ 1. Laurelled head of Kephalos, left profile. Reverse: ΣΑΜΑΙΩΝ; the dog Lailaps, standing to the right. (Silver.) 2. ΚΡΑΝΙΩΝ; a ram stepping to the left. Reverse: in an incused square, a bow. (Silver.) 3. Κ; ram's head to the right. Reverse: ΚΡΑΝΙΩΝ; ram's foot. (Silver.) 4. Bare head of Kephalos, left profile. Reverse: ΠΡΩΝΝΩΝ; a club. (Silver.)

Macedon. Shortly before this he had arrested an expedition of the Achæians against Messene; and in allowing that city to enter the league, he had stipulated that she might have recourse, in all cases of disagreement, to the Senate or to the tribunal of the able man who remained the principal agent of Rome in Greece, — a partial tribunal always ready to receive complaints against



GALATIAN.²

the Achæians. Already Flaminius had ceased to treat this people with any consideration. They had taken the island of Kephallenia from the Athamanians. "Like the tortoise in its shell, you," he said, "will be invulnerable so long as you do not come out of the Peloponnesos;"¹ and he took Kephallenia from them.

At Ephesos, Antiochos felt himself safe; but L. Scipio went thither in his pursuit, and by the victory of Magnesia drove him beyond the Taurros (190 B. C.). The following year Manlius Vulso, by his victories over the Galatians, put an end to the last

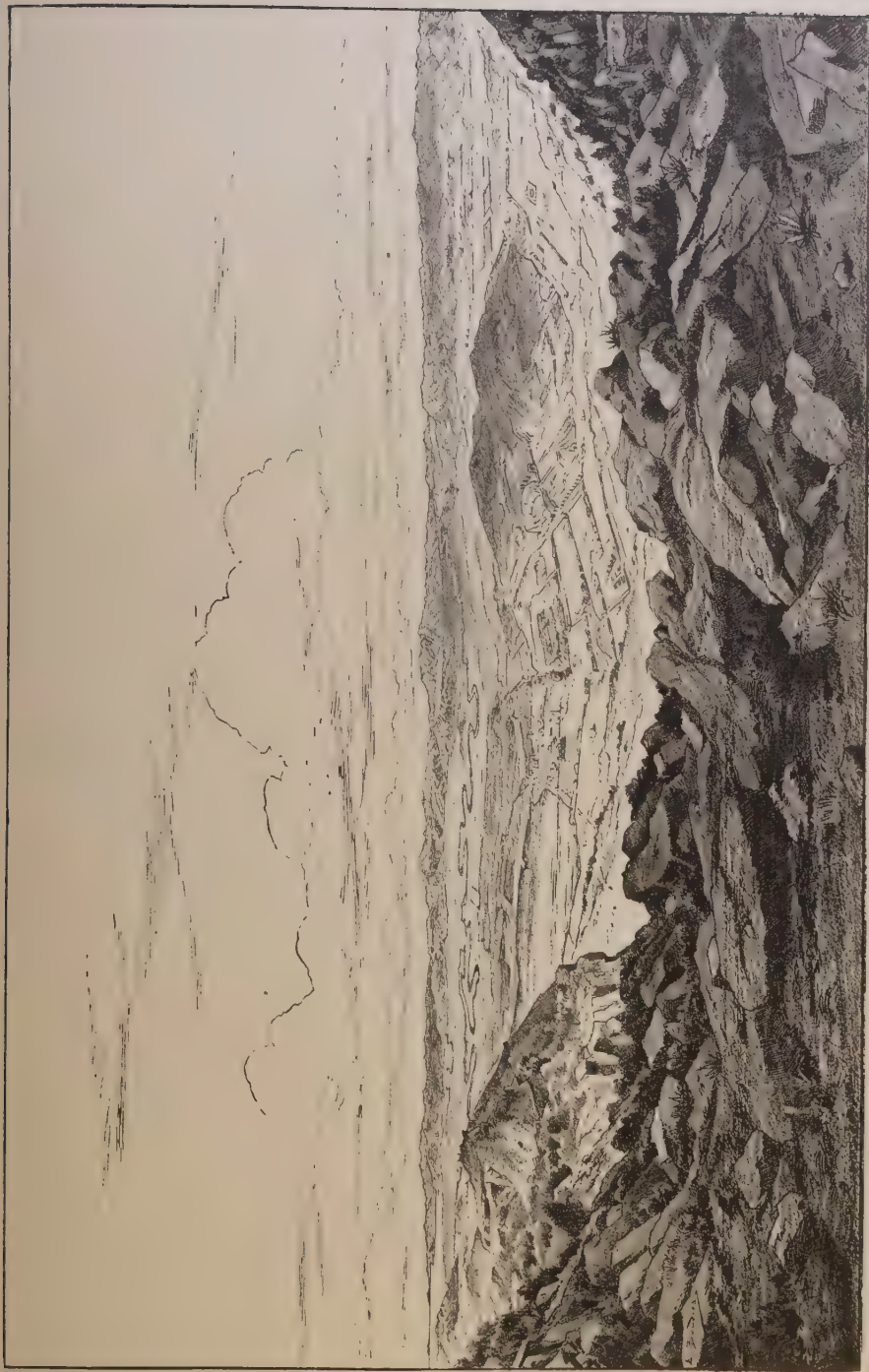
resistance of Asia Minor. Thenceforth that country belonged to Rome, under the servile royalty of Eumenes the Pergamean.

A truce had been granted to the Aitolians; but when the Romans were rid of Antiochos, they resumed the war actively against the league. Being conquered, the Aitolians sent to the consul to beg for peace, and consented to submit to the Roman clemency. These were the terms demanded by the Senate; but when the consul, Manius Acilius, explained to them that this meant to give up to Rome those who had urged the war, they remonstrated, and declared that this was contrary to the custom of the Greeks.

¹ Livy, xxxiv. 32.

² A figurine in terra-cotta, discovered in the Nekropolis of Myrrhina, and now in the Louvre, No. 283 of the Catalogue. Cf. *La Necropole de Myrrina*, by E. Pottier and S. Reinach, part ii. p. 321. The Galatian is identified as such by his nudity, his long hair, and his long and oval shield.

NOTE. — The view of Ephesos on the opposite page is borrowed from the work of A. L. J. de Laborde, *Voyage en Orient*, pl. xlv. It may be compared with the plan of Ephesos, Vol. II. p. 239.



PANORAMIC VIEW OF EPHESES.

STATUE OF A GALATIAN.¹

“Then Manius, raising his voice, not so much from anger as to make the deputies feel how low the Aitolians had fallen, and to inspire them with extreme terror,—‘It is very becoming in you, little Greeks, to talk to me

¹ Marble statue in the Louvre, and not, as has been said, in the Museum of Saint-Germain (Friederichs-Wolters, *Die Gypsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, p. 520). We know that in memory of the important victory which he had gained in Mysia over the Galatians, Attalos I., king of

about your customs, and tell me what is proper for me to do, after you have committed yourself to my clemency. Do you not know that it is in my power to load you with chains?' Whereupon he had chains brought and iron collars, which he ordered to be put upon their necks. Phaineas and the other deputies were so alarmed at this that their knees bent under them. Some tribunes who were present implored Manius to show respect for the character of ambassador which these Greeks bore, and not to treat them with rigor. The consul laid aside his severity, and allowed Phaineas to speak. . . ." (Polybios.)

Vainly did the Aitolians struggle; the Senate's conditions must be accepted. They were obliged to recognize the supremacy of Rome, to have the same friends and foes, to relinquish their weapons and their horses, to pay a thousand talents, and to give the Romans, as guarantee, forty hostages, designated by the Senate.

Thus one more name was erased from the page of history.

This severe blow, struck so near them and at the earliest friends of Rome, was a warning to the Achaïans, henceforth exposed on all sides. Their position grew difficult. Different plans of conduct were recommended in the assembly.

"It is not possible," Aristainos said to them, "that you should remain friendly to the Romans, offering them at the same time the caduceus and the spear. If we are strong enough, let us march against them; if not, let us obey them. There are two aims to all policy,—the noble, and the useful. If it is impossible to attain the former, at least the latter may be grasped. Either let us show that we are strong enough to disobey, or, if we obey, let us do so cordially and with a good grace."

Philopoimen refused to put this good grace into servitude. He did not deceive himself so far as to believe seriously in the duration of the league or in its independence.

"When the Romans," says Polybios, "required a thing conformable to the laws and treaty, he immediately and faithfully executed it; but when their demands went beyond these limits, he would first have made

Pergamon, had consecrated, on the Akropolis, above the southern wall, four great groups of statues, representing on the one side the battle of the Athenians with the Amazons and their victory over the Persians at Marathon, and on the other the strife between the gods and the giants and the defeat of the Galatians. Of these groups there remain, scattered in the museums of Europe,—at Venice, Naples, Rome, Paris, and Aix,—a certain number of partial copies. Among other figures there are four of Galatians, of which one is represented here. See, above, p. 311, the group representing an elephant throwing down a Galatian, and p. 404, the figurine in terra-cotta found at Myrina.

known to them the reasons for refusal; then, would have the effect of entreaty tried, and supplication that they would not go beyond what had been agreed upon; if they then remained inflexible, he would have the gods appealed to as witnesses of the infraction of the treaty, and would obey. . . . 'Is it best for us,' he was wont to say, 'to unite ourselves with all our forces to our masters, and endure without opposition the severest rule, or rather to resist as far as we are able, and delay our servitude? . . . There will come, I know, a time for the Greeks when they must obey; but is it better to hasten, or to retard it?' 'Are you so eager,' he said one day to Aristainos, 'to see the last day of Greece?'"

These two statesmen, according to Polybios, were wise and upright; but besides these two parties, separated only by a shade of difference, there was a third, which we shall soon find expressing itself in the words of Kallikrates,—one of those cowardly Greeks willing to endure all disgrace for the sake of Roman favor.

To shut themselves up in the Peloponnesos, and live there as free as it was possible, and to keep the Romans out, was the aim of Philopoimen. During the war of Antiochos it happened that Sparta, always ill-disposed towards the league, sought to separate from it. The Achaian praetor Diophanes marched upon the city and called to his aid Flamininus. "Miserable man," Philopoimen said to him, "beware of calling in the Romans among us!" And when Diophanes paid no heed to his remonstrances, he shut himself up in Sparta and defended the city even against the Achaians. Another time the Senate requested the Achaians to restore the Spartan exiles to their homes. Philopoimen opposed this, not because he was hostile to the cause of the exiles, but from an unwillingness to have them owe their return to the efforts of Rome.

When Lacedæmon, preserving, from her ancient institutions, a keen sentiment of nationality even in her decline, besought the Senate to deliver her from the yoke of the Achaian alliance, Philopoimen manifested towards her a severity at which Plutarch is indignant. For the first time he imputes to his hero injustice and cruelty: Philopoimen had put to death eighty, or according

BRONZE COIN.¹

¹ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ; veiled figure, perhaps Demeter, seated on a cippus, in an attitude of grief. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Lacedæmon with the effigy of Commodus.)

to another historian three hundred and fifty, Spartans, he had destroyed the walls of the city, abolished its institutions, given a portion of its territory to Megalopolis, transported many of the citizens into Achaia, and sold three thousand as slaves. He had determined to master this refractory city and stifle this voice which lifted itself up in the Peloponnesos and called in the Romans.

If the nobility of Philopoimen's sentiments could be called in question, we might be tempted to see in this conduct the effect of a Megalopolitan's hatred of Sparta. We should attribute to a like motive a very serious modification made by him in the constitution of the league; namely, the law by which the assembly, instead of being held exclusively at Aigeion, should

COIN OF SELEUKOS IV.¹COIN OF EUMENES II.²

meet successively in all the cities of the confederation. Philopoimen by this measure sought to give satisfaction to these cities, of whom some, like Sparta, were not yet reconciled to the idea of considering as their capital and centre a small town, insignificant and without ancient fame. The measure was a good one, and perhaps had it been adopted by Aratos, the

unity of the Peloponnesos might have been realized.

It is certain that the league, thanks to Philopoimen, resumed enough power and importance to have ambassadors sent to it from the Eastern kings, — from Seleukos Philopator, from Eumenes, from Ptolemy Epiphanes. Alliance with these kings was accepted, but their gifts were refused. Eumenes, a perfidious ally, had sent a hundred and twenty talents to be placed at interest and pro-

¹ Diademed head of Seleukos IV., right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ; Apollo, nude, seated to the left on the *omphalos*; in the right hand he holds an arrow, and leans with the left upon a bow; in the exergue, a monogram. (Tetradrachm.)

² Diademed head of Eumenes II. (197–159 B. C.), right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ; the Dioskouroi standing, leaning on their spears; in the exergue, a mint-mark; the whole in a wreath of laurel. (Tetradrachm coined at Syros.)

duce an annual income which should defray the expenses of members of the Achaian council. Apollonidas of Sikyon reminded the assembly that the law prohibited Achaians from receiving presents from kings.

Rome had seen with displeasure the energy displayed by Philopoimen, and the Spartans had come to complain of the revolution forcibly effected in their city; upon this the Senate sent envoys to deal with the matter. Appius Claudius appeared in the general assembly of the Achaians, accompanied by the Spartan who had complained at Rome, and whom the assembly had just condemned to death. Lykortas, the father of Polybios, at the time strategos, referred to the proclamation of Greek liberty made by

Flamininus at the Isthmian Games, and had the courage to say, amid general applause, that if Rome in Italy put to death the Campanian senators, the Achaian League might, in the Peloponnesos, claim a similar



COIN OF PTOLEMY V.¹

right towards traitors. To which Appius replied that he urgently advised the Achaians to render the Senate favorable to themselves while they were still masters of their own conduct, if they did not wish to be soon compelled to act without any choice of their own.

At Messene, Philopoimen had protected the democratic party, which was favorable to the league. As soon as the oligarchy became aware that the Senate welcomed complaints against the Achaians, they made haste to send to Rome Deinokrates, their leader. He returned from this mission in the company of Flamininus, who was sent to ask from Prousius the head of Hannibal. The Roman remained at Messene just long enough to produce a revolution. The city broke with the league and sent troops to seize Koronis. Philopoimen, seventy years of age and strategos for the eighth time, was ill of a fever at Argos; at news of this he set out for Megalopolis, where he arrived the same day, having made twenty leagues in that time. He summoned a corps of

¹ Diademed head of Ptolemy Epiphanes, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; eagle standing, to the left, on a thunderbolt; in the field, two mint-marks. (Gold.)

cavalry, marched against the enemy, and compelled them to fall back; but, surrounded by superior numbers, was himself obliged to retreat and protect his own forces. In passing through a defile the cavalry left him behind in the midst of his enemies; his horse

HORSE'S HEAD.¹

stumbled, and threw him to the ground, where he lay unconscious; thereupon the Messenians seized him, and when he recovered consciousness, overwhelmed him with insults. He was brought into Messene loaded with chains like a criminal, and thrown into a subterranean prison. Many of the Messenians interested themselves in his fate. "We ought not to forget," they said, "that it was he who restored our liberty by expelling the tyrant Nabis."

But some, to please Deinokrates, would have had him put to the torture. To do this, however, would have caused some delay, and Deinokrates, dreading the return of the Achaians, was anxious to make an end of the affair.

COIN OF MESSENE.²COIN OF MESSENE.³

As soon as the Messenians, therefore, at nightfall withdrew to their homes, he had the prison opened, and sent the executioner

¹ Fragment in marble discovered at Tarentum, and now in the British Museum (from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, pl. xxiv.). Cf., Vol. III. p. 376, the horse's head from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

² ΔΕΞΙΑΣ; Zeus Homagyrus standing, holding in the right hand a Victory, and leaning with the left on a spear. Reverse. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ; Demeter Panachaia seated to the left, holding a wreath in the right hand, and leaning with the left on a spear. (Bronze.)

³ Head of Demeter, with a wreath of wheat-ears, right profile. Reverse: Zeus Ithomatas standing, to the right; in the right hand he holds the thunderbolt, and on his left wrist an eagle; before him is a tripod. (Bronze.)

to carry poison to Philopoimen. The old man lay wrapped in his cloak. Seeing the light, and a man with a cup standing before him, he rose with difficulty, being very feeble, and took the poison from the executioner's hand, asking only if there were any news of his cavalry, and especially of Lykortas. The man replied that most of them had made their escape. Philopoimen thanked him, and gently added: "It is a satisfaction to me to know that our disaster was not more general." (Plutarch.)

VIEW IN MESSENEIA.¹

The news of his death spread consternation among the Achaians, and also a desire for vengeance. The assembly, meeting at Megalopolis, elected Lykortas strategos, and an army was sent against Messene, ravaging the country as they went. The alarmed city opened its gates; Deinokrates at once took his own life; many of his partisans imitated his example; those who had wished the illustrious prisoner to be tortured were made to suffer tortures themselves: Lykortas had some hanged, and others scourged to death.

"The body of Philopoimen was burned; and after collecting the ashes in an urn, the army departed from Messene in a kind of funeral train,

¹ From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*.

united with a military and triumphal procession. The Achaians marched garlanded with flowers, and weeping as they went. They were followed by Messenian prisoners in chains. Polybios, the son of Lykortas, surrounded by the most important of the Achaians, carried the urn, which was so covered with wreaths and fillets that it could scarcely be seen. The rear was brought up by a troop of cavalry, fully armed, and mounted on richly caparisoned horses. They manifested neither the signs of sadness appropriate to so great mourning, nor of joy proportioned to such a brilliant victory.

“The inhabitants of the cities and villages through which their route lay came out to meet the remains of the great man with the same eagerness which they had been accustomed to show when he was returning from his



VICTORY HOLDING A TORCH.¹

campaigns; and having touched his urn, they accompanied the procession on its way to Megalopolis. Many old men, women, and children mingled in the crowd, uttered piercing cries, which were heard in the city as they drew near, and the inhabitants answered back with their lamentations; for they felt that with this great citizen was lost to them their pre-eminence among the Achaians.” (Plutarch.)

But the loss of their pre-eminence was but a trifle over which to lament. The great loss was that which Greece suffered in being deprived of the last support of her honor. “As, it is said, a mother loves best the son whom she has borne late in life, so Greece, bringing forth Philopoimen after all the other great men whom she had borne, loved him with an extraordinary affection, and named him the last of her children.”

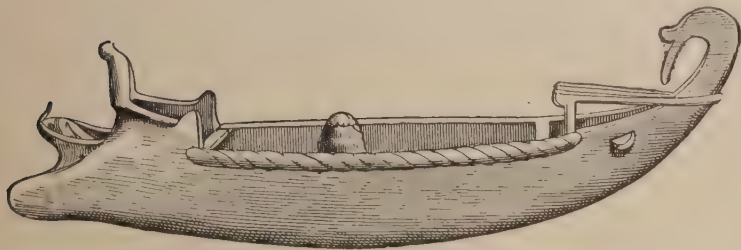
¹ Painting on an Athenian lekythos, from O. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, pl. xix. No. 3. The Victory (NIKE) is walking to the right, a torch in her hand.

After him the men who placed their hopes of fortune in the favor of Rome came into prominence, and treason spoke aloud. Kallikrates, being sent to Rome, said openly in the Senate, —

“Conscript Fathers, it is yourselves who are to blame if the Greeks are not more docile to your orders. In all the States there are two parties, — the one, which will disregard all laws, treaties, and considerations of whatever sort when it is a question of pleasing you; the other, which maintains that laws and treaties should be observed. The opinion of this latter party is more pleasing to the people, and your partisans are despised and disregarded. But if the Roman Senate would give some sign of preference on this point, then the leaders would all embrace that side, and fear would bring in the rest.”

The Senate replied that it was to be desired that in every city the magistrates should resemble Kallikrates. This man, returning to his native land with letters from the Senate, was elected strategos (179 B. C.). Rome could, therefore, without anxiety leave to the league a few days more of its wretched existence, while she herself was occupied in giving the death-blow to the reviving power of Macedon.

¹ Bronze discovered in 1862 on the Akropolis of Athens; from the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1862, p. 91. The bronze is 30 cent. in length, and 55 millim. in width.



LAMP IN THE FORM OF A BOAT.¹

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR (171-168 B.C.).

I. — LAST DAYS OF PHILIP; PERSEUS.

THE defeat of Antiochos and the ruin of the Aitolians had satisfied the humiliated pride of Philip; but it had also taken from him the only auxiliaries who could have saved him. He now remained alone against Rome; and by her repeated insults he ought to have understood that his destruction was resolved upon. As the reward for his alliance during the war with Antiochos, the Senate had abandoned to him whatever conquests he might be able to make; but no sooner was the victory of Thermopylai gained than his advance was arrested. He was about to take Lamia in Thessaly, but Acilius ordered him to raise the siege; he had conquered Athamania, but time was left to the Aitolians to drive him thence. Too carefully watched in Greece, he turned towards Thrace, and there quietly made important conquests. The maritime cities of Ainos and Maroneia received his garrisons;¹ but on that side Eumenes kept watch upon all his movements and reported them to Rome. As soon as it was known that the exiles from Maroneia and Ainos had been well received by the Senate. Thessalians, Magnetes, Athamanians, and others presented themselves at Rome;² and the Senate sent over three commissioners, who, to show to all the Greeks the humiliation and weakness of Philip, compelled the Macedonian king to

¹ The commissioner, Fabius Labeo, had taken care, Livy tells us (xxxix. 27), in indicating, after Kynoskephalai, the limit between Macedon and Thrace, to follow the old royal road, which never came near the sea. This author, who often copies Polybios without acknowledging his indebtedness, in some degree supplies many of the missing pages of the Greek historian.

² Polybios, xxiv. 4. There was such a crowd of these men that it took three days to hear them.

appear before them like an ordinary person accused of crime.¹ He had taken from them, the Thessalians said, five hundred young men of the noblest families, he had ruined the port of Thebes, in Phthiotis, for the advantage of Demetrias, and had laid ambushes for the deputies sent by them to Flamininus. "Like slaves suddenly enfranchised," replied the king, "these men use liberty in no other way than to insult their master; and moreover," he added haughtily, "the sun has not yet set for the last time."³ It is needless to say that the commissioners pronounced against him (185 B.C.). Livy and Polybios accuse him of a cruelty habitual to all these kings;⁴ and the former relates in proof a story which shows

COIN OF AINOS.²COIN OF MARONEIA.⁵

how very hard the life of those times was. Philip had put to death one of the principal men in Thessaly and his two sons-in-law. The widows had each a boy. One of them refused to marry again; the other became the wife of Poris, the most influ-

ential citizen of Aineia in Chalkidike, and died, leaving several children by the second marriage. Upon this the sister, Theoxene, in order to watch over her nephews, married Poris, and was a true mother to all his children. Some time after came an order from the king that the sons of the two men whom he had put to death should be sent to him. Death or infamy awaited them. Theoxene declared that she would kill them rather than give them up, and Poris formed the design of escaping to Athens

¹ *Tanquam reus* (xxxix. 25).

² Head of Hermes, front face, wearing the petasos. Reverse: ΑΙΝΙΟΝ; he-goat, to the right; before him a Corinthian helmet. (Tetradrachm.)

³ *Nondum omnium dierum solem occidisse* (Livy, xxxix. 26).

⁴ Polybios, xxiv. 6. Naturally, Livy has much to say as to the profligacy and cruelty of Philip.

⁵ Head of Dionysos, with a wreath of ivy, right profile. Reverse: ΜΑΡΟΝΙΤΩΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ; Dionysos, nude, standing, to the left, the chlamys on his arm, holding two spears and a bunch of grapes; in the field, two monograms of magistrates' names. (Silver.)

with his family. They embarked by night; but the wind was contrary, and when daylight came, a vessel was seen to be in pursuit. Theoxene had brought with her weapons and poison. "Death is our only resource," she said: "here are two ways to die." Some of the boys took poison, others preferred the sword; she flung them dying into the sea, and herself and her husband followed them.¹

However accustomed men were to violent deaths, this tragic end of a whole family excited horror; and the pious historian believes that from that day the gods marked Philip for their victim. Rome undertook the fulfilment of the divine sentence.

The intervention of the gods was not required, political necessity being sufficient; and the king incurred his doom by many imprudent acts, which Rome could not but regard as provocations. It was well to open mines, to establish new taxes, to favor commerce; it was not so to endeavor to increase the population of his kingdom by Asiatic procedures,



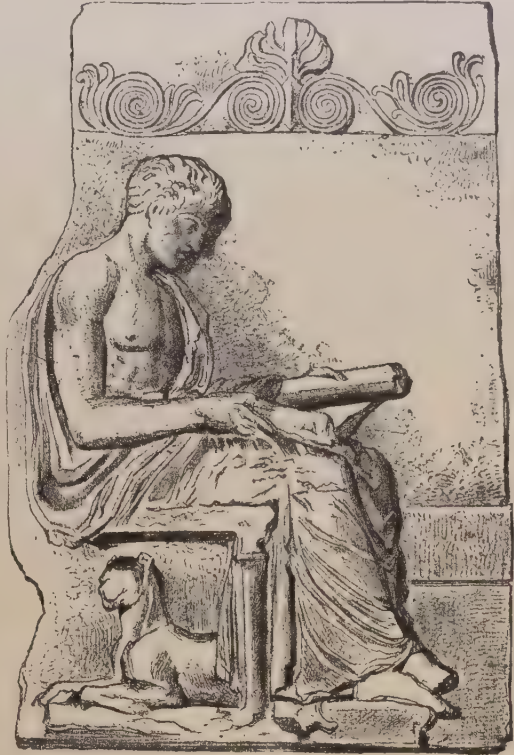
DIDRACHM.²

which excited much hatred against him without bringing him many advantages. The maritime cities were not friendly to him, and he removed their inhabitants into Paionia, establishing Barbarians in their place. Under pretext of bringing succor to the Byzantines, he made an incursion into the interior of Thrace, defeated many petty kings, and brought back from this country a numerous colony, whence he hoped to recruit his army. Prousius was at war with the king of Pergamon, and he sent auxiliaries to him; at the same time, mindful of the schemes of Hannibal, he excited by secret emissaries the Barbarians of the Danube to league themselves with him and march upon Italy. Their chief promised to give his sister in marriage to the king's son. To support these negotiations, and to establish more firmly his influence in Thrace, he founded the city of Philippopolis, on the bank of the Hebros, not far from Mount Haimos. It was said that from the summit of this mountain the

¹ Livy, xl. 4.

² Head of Philip III. (or V.) of Macedon. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ and three monograms; a club; the whole surrounded by a wreath. (Silver coin.)

Euxine, the Adriatic, the Danube, and the Alps could be seen. Philip formed the idea of making the ascent, thence to select the shortest route into Italy; for, counting but little upon Greece which he knew well, he desired to repeat Hannibal's attempt. He was obliged to spend three days in reaching the mountain top, hidden as it was by heavy clouds, and he built there an altar to Zeus and one to the Sun; but he was able to see only the fertile plains of Mysia and Thrace.¹ When he descended the mountain, the report of this strange expedition, this powerless threat, was already on its way to Rome. Some time before this, Philip, to lull the Senate's vigilance, had sent to Rome his son Demetrios, whose earlier residence there as hostage, and the consideration with which he had been purposely treated, had attached him to Roman interests. The Senate, with

YOUNG MAN READING.²

its wicked craft, sowing hatred and discord in the royal house, replied that the father should be pardoned for the sake of the son; and Demetrios later paid with his life for these perfidious expressions of regard.³

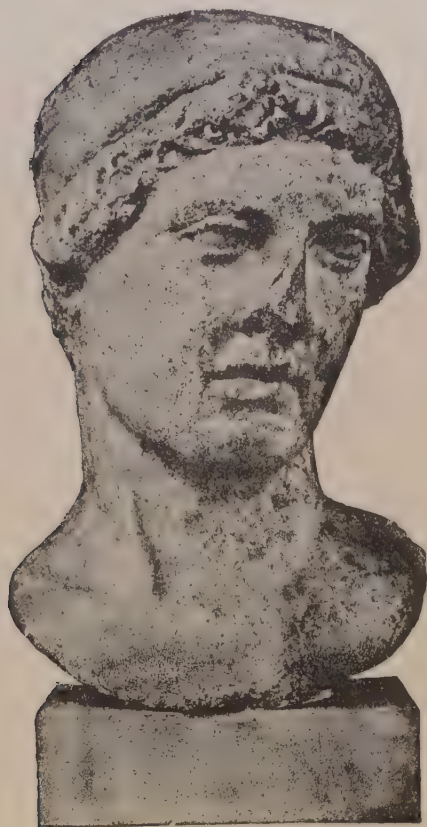
Daily, to nourish his resentment, Philip had the Roman treaty read over to him. His emissaries to the Danubian tribes had

¹ Livy, xl. 22.

² Greek funeral stela of marble, now in the Abbey of Grotta Ferrata, near Rome (from the *Monumenti dell' Instit*, 1855, pl. 15). The dead youth is seated to the right, and reads attentively the roll which he holds with both hands. Under his seat a dog is lying. The stela of Grotta Ferrata dates from the fourth century B. C., and is without doubt of Attic origin.

³ Polybios, xxiv. fr. 1 and 5. Demetrios was given to understand that the Romans would soon place him on the throne of Macedon.

now returned. One of the bravest and most numerous of these tribes, the Bastarnai, accepted his offers. He assured these Barbarians of a safe passage through Thrace, where he had impressed the terror of his arms, and promised them provisions and pay, and, finally, fruitful lands in the country of the Dardanians. This people being destroyed, he then proposed to hurl the Bastarnai upon Italy, while he himself would arouse Greece and call all the kings to liberty.



BUST OF PERSEUS.¹

But the malevolent foresight of the Senate was about to bear its fruit. Demetrios, returning into Macedon, found there a powerful faction desirous of peace at any price, who at once accepted as their leader this friend of the Romans. The war-party had for chief an elder brother of Demetrios, Perseus, who, being the son of a low-born mother, feared that Philip would leave the crown to Demetrios. To destroy this rival, he represented him to their father as a traitor urged on by

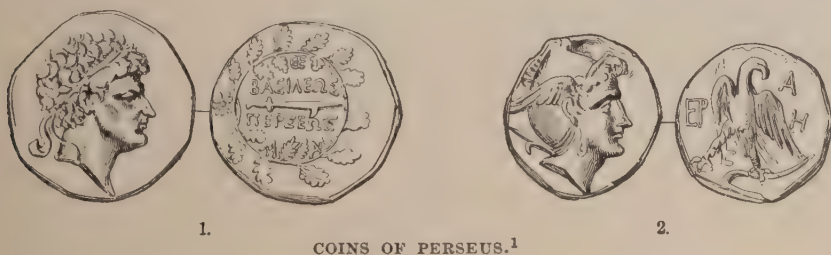
Flaminius and by his own ambition, to seize the crown. The wretched Philip hesitated between his two sons. Finally Perseus made it appear that his life had been in danger from his brother's machinations, and that Demetrios was about to escape to Rome, undoubtedly with the intention of returning accompanied by the legions. Philip investigated the subject; the crime seemed clearly proved, and the young prince attempting to flee to Rome, the king resolved to put him to death secretly. He was invited to a

¹ Marble in the British Museum (from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, pl. ix.). The name of Persens has been, though not without some hesitation, suggested for this head, which may be compared with the profile on a tetradrachm represented in the *History of Rome*, ii. 149.

sacrificial banquet at Herakleia by the governor of Paionia, to whom the father had intrusted the commission, and poison was mingled with the consecrated food (182 B. C.). It is said that later Philip became aware of his son's innocence, and that grief caused his death (179 B. C.).

II. — PERSEUS (177-168 B. C.).

HAVING conquered Perseus, the Romans also saw fit to take away his legitimate renown. Their historians have used against him the right of war, *vae victis*, and modern authors have done the same. But does not Livy accuse Hannibal of incapacity?



COINS OF PERSEUS.¹

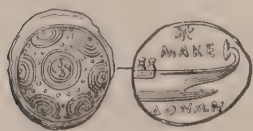
At the same time he praises in Perseus his virtuous life, the royal majesty of his presence, his skill in the exercises and labors both of peace and war.² He vaguely accuses him of having killed his wife, and reproaches him with the murder of Demetrios. But according to Livy's own story Perseus had reason to think his life in danger. The historian represents him as a miser, valuing his treasures more than his crown; but when the cities of Macedonia made him an offer of subsidies, he refused them;³ when

¹ 1. Diademed head of Perseus, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣ; the harpa of the hero Perseus; the whole enclosed in a wreath of oak-leaves. (Silver.) 2. Head of the hero Perseus, wearing a winged helmet adorned with a griffin's head; he carries the harpa on his shoulder. Reverse: the letters ΠΕΡ[σεως] in monogram; an eagle standing on a ploughshare; in the field, two mint-marks. (Bronze.)

² Livy, xli. 2: *nihil paternae lasciviae*, etc. He here copies Polybios (xvi. fr. 3), as in almost all that he says of Greece and the East; but he invests with his own brilliant style the often dry phraseology of the Greek author.

³ *Legationes civitatum venerant ad pecunias . . . et frumentum pollicendum, ad bellum* (xlii. 53). Upon his accession he remitted to his subjects all that they owed the treasury,

Kotys had served him six months with two thousand auxiliaries. he gave him for his cavalry a hundred talents more than he had promised. We shall see later whether his conduct towards Gentios and the Bastarnai was not justified. In his kingdom Perseus was able to gain the affection and the devoted adherence of his subjects; in foreign affairs he raised the consideration of Macedon to such a height that for ten years he kept the eyes of the world fixed upon him.¹ As to the assassinations attributed to him, either we have insufficient proof, as in the affair of Rammius of Brundisium, or else they belong to that policy of perfidy and violence, followed at this time by all kings, and by Rome herself. Those who had caused the death of Hannibal, Philopomen, and Brachyllas, had but a poor right to reproach Perseus with the attempted assassination of Eumenes. Even his courage has been called in question; but he was present in every battle, and was the leader in every expedition in Thrace, Illyria, Epeiros, against the Dardanians and in Aitolia. At Pydna, having been wounded the preceding day, he flung himself without his cuirass into the midst of his shattered phalanx. Perseus, we may believe, was neither better nor worse than the principal men of his time.

TETROBOLON.²

Philip, it is said, had entertained the idea of leaving the throne to Antigonos, the nephew of his former guardian, and Perseus hastened to rid himself of so dangerous a rival. But he was careful not to break openly with the Senate; immediately upon his accession he renewed the treaty that had been made with his father, and for six years appeared to have no other solicitude than to turn away from himself the attention of Rome. At the same time he felt that danger was always hanging over his head, and that the causes which had brought on the Second Macedonian War were preparing a third. The completion of the work begun in Greece by Flaminius demanded the destruction of the Macedonian power. The Roman senators were not the men to ask themselves

restored to the exiles their property which had been confiscated, and even the income of it which had been received by the State in their absence (Polybios, xxvi. fr. 3).

¹ *Ipsius Persei . . . celebrari nomen* (xlii. 48).

² Macedonian shield. Reverse: MAKEΔONΩΝ; prow of a galley. Coin struck between 158 and 146 B. C., at the beginning of the Roman dominion.

if this would be an act of justice, it sufficed that it appeared to them useful; and they had the art — often practised since their time — of making their victim the aggressor. Perseus had never conceived the mad design of playing the part of Hannibal, or attempting that of Antiochos. He had not even the resources possessed by Philip at the time of that king's earlier hostilities with Rome. He could therefore do nothing more than organize, silently and in the shadow, the defence of his kingdom; and this he did with great energy.¹

His father had left him a well-filled treasury; this he further replenished, amassing sufficient wealth to be able to keep in his pay ten thousand mercenaries for ten years.

In his arsenals he collected arms and stores to equip and feed three armies.³ By his expeditions into Thrace, Philip had recruited his troops and trained them for war; Perseus now exercised them in crushing the Dolopes, who sought to place themselves under the protection of Rome, and he could count upon forty-five thousand good soldiers. Lastly, to gather all the Macedonians about himself, he

BRONZE COIN.⁴

1.



2.

SILVER COINS.²

opened the prisons, remitted debts due to the public treasury, and recalled the exiles; edicts publicly set up at Delphi, in Delos, and in the temple of Athene Itonia, promising them safety of person and restoration of property.

Philip had never been able to make the Greeks forget his cruelty. Perseus sent to all the cities envoys to desire that the past should now be forgotten and a sincere alliance be made. Securing their

¹ Livy, xli. 13.

² 1. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile; behind, a monogram composed of the letters TY. Reverse: ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ; Pallas Itonia fighting with the spear and shield; in the field, the letters MA, designating, perhaps, the city of the Magnes. (Silver coin of the Thessalians, *in genere*.) 2. Macedonian shield. Reverse: ΚΟ[ρωναίων]. Head of Pallas Itonia, three-quarters front, wearing a helmet with a triple aigrette. (Silver coin of Korone, where Pallas Itonia had a famous temple.)

³ Livy, xlii. 12; Plut., *Æmil.*, 8.

⁴ Coin of King Genthios. Macedonian shield. Reverse: [βα]ΣΙΑΕ[ως] ΓΕΝΘΙΟΥ; helmet with cheek-pieces.

good-will by his favors, he gave back to the Achaians and Athenians those of their slaves whom Philip had harbored in Macedon. Thessaly was incapable of governing itself, and he took advantage of its dissensions, supporting the poor against the rich, and debtors



PERSEUS.¹

against their creditors, and restored Macedonian garrisons in the cities whence the Romans had driven them out. Epeiros had turned against Philip with regret, and Perseus now was able to bring her back secretly into alliance with himself. The Boiotians had rejected the friendship of his father, but they now publicly accepted his own by a treaty which was engraved in the temples at Thebes, Delos, and Delphi. But for certain discreet and foreseeing persons, Achaia would have done likewise, and the Aitolians appealed to him when their country became disor-

dered. Genthios, a petty Illyrian king, alarmed by the presence and the threats of the Romans, promised aid in return for subsidies, and Kotys, king of the Thracian Odrysai, engaged to share all his dangers. The king of Syria gave Perseus his sister in marriage, and a Rhodian fleet carried the bride across the Ægæan; Prousius, his brother-in-law, only awaited an opportunity to attack in Asia the *protégé* of the Senate, Eumenes, who found the friendship of the Romans burdensome to him, and strove to regain that of Antiochos.² Rhodes, poorly repaid for her services, and recognizing the Senate's hand in the outbreak of the Lykians against her, made overtures to Perseus. The king had a prolonged interview at Samothrace with

¹ Perseus is represented about to hurl his javelin. He is bearded, and wears the Macedonian *korymbos*, on which is represented an incident in the war of the Lapiths and Centaurs. Cameo on Oriental cornelian. Height 7 cent. (*Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 159.)

² The gains made by Philip and Perseus in Thrace had attached Eumenes to the Roman side. However, he offered Perseus his neutrality at the price of 500 talents, or his active aid at 1500. "After a noble and pious struggle of avarice," says Polybios, "they separated, the advantage being equal, like two brave athletes" (xxix. 2, 5, and 9). But this assertion of Polybios is scarcely credible, being rather the repetition of a rumor than the statement of a fact.

deputies from the cities of Asia.¹ At Carthage, the Senate received his envoys by night in the temple of Asklepios.² Lastly, thirty thousand Bastarnai were on the march, and the news of their advance struck terror in Italy.

Thus, what Hannibal had not done, Perseus seemed about to accomplish. Encouraged by the universal hatred which the ambition of Rome had aroused, he advanced more boldly. To show the Greeks the Macedonian standards, which they had not seen for twenty years, he penetrated with an army, under pretext of sacrifices to Apollo, as far as the temple of Delphi. In Thrace and Illyria the Senate had allies. He plundered the Thracian akropolis, and put to death the Illyrian chief Arthetauros. Two Thebans sought to keep Boiotia faithful to Rome, but they were slain by unknown agents. Eumenes, alarmed by this revival of the Macedonian power,³ went to denounce it at Rome. He made known in the Senate the preparations of Perseus, his intrigues to attach to himself the popular party, to the detriment of the friends of Rome, — his crimes, actual or supposed. "Seeing," he said, "that you leave the field open in Greece, and that nothing wears out your patience, he regards it as certain that he can go into Italy without finding a single adversary upon the way." Eumenes terminates this incendiary address by the usual invocation to the gods. "It remains with you, Romans, to decide what your safety and your honor demand. To me it remains only to pray the gods and goddesses that they will inspire you with the desire to defend our interests and your own."

ASKLEPIOS.⁴

¹ Livy, xlii. 25. However, they had not the courage to declare themselves; in 170 B. C. deputies from many of them went to Rome. As to the Rhodians, the Senate had declared to them that the Lykians were given them, not as subjects, but as allies and friends (Polybios, xxxvi. 5).

² Livy, xli. 22.

³ Abdera, Ainos, Maroneia, and beyond the strait, Lampsakos, belonged to Perseus; thus Macedon was regaining ground in Thrace and in Asia Minor (Livy, xliii. 6).

⁴ Marble bust in the *Cabinet de France* (No. 3,278). The type is known to us by a great number of monuments, which justify the name given to this bust.

Perseus had sent his own envoys to follow Eumenes into Italy; they now asked to be allowed to answer, and did so with haughtiness, almost with menace. "The king," they said, "is very desirous to justify himself. He is anxious that nothing hostile should



VICTORY.¹

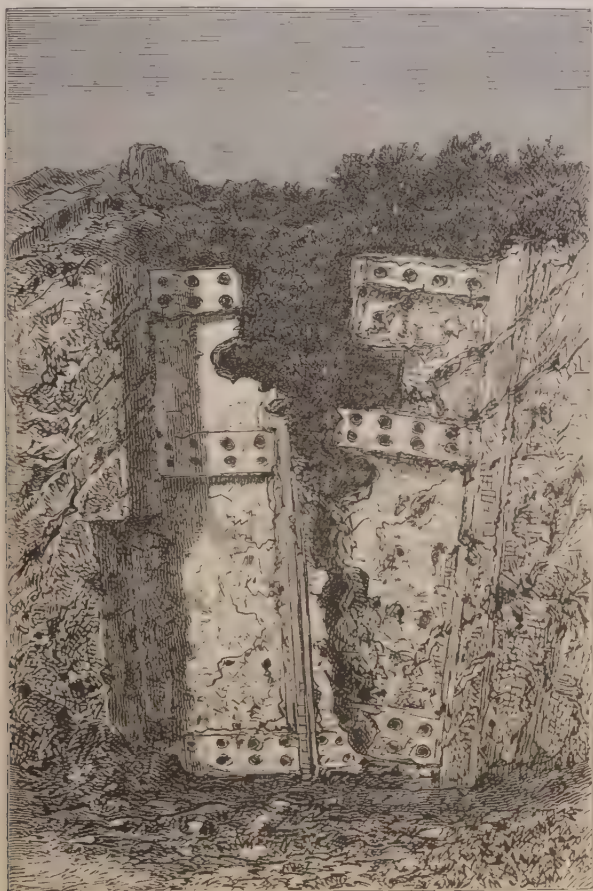
be attributed to his words or acts; but if a pretext of war be persistently sought, he will defend himself bravely. The favors of Ares are given to every one, and the issue of war is uncertain."

Eumenes, loaded with gifts, among which were the consular insignia, — the curule chair and the ivory wand, — returned home by way of Greece, and Perseus, certain that he would go to Delphi to sacrifice to Apollo, posted assassins upon the road. To give access to this famous temple, the Romans would have constructed a broad highway; but the Greeks had not taken the trouble to do this. Above Kirrha the road grew very steep, and in one place, near a ruinous building, it became only a footpath, which a landslide had made even narrower. Four assassins were concealed behind the ruin awaiting the king, who came up attended by friends and by a guard. As they climbed the hill the royal suite became scattered, and

when they reached the dilapidated building, Eumenes, with the Aitolian chief Pantaleon, led the way. At this moment the men in ambush above the path began to roll down great rocks: one struck the king on the head, another on the shoulder. He fell senseless, and apparently

¹ Marble statue discovered in 1873 at Samothrace, and now in Vienna; from Benndorf and Conze, *Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, vol. i. pl. 48. A Victory standing, leaning doubtless with the lifted left arm, upon a spear; the right arm hung down, and the hand held some object. Although the execution is somewhat imperfect, the statue is not without charm, and the arrangements of the garments is graceful.

dead; upon which his escort took flight, and the assassins did likewise, supposing there was no need of stopping to finish their victim. They rapidly climbed the slope of Parnassos: and one being unable to keep up with the rest, the others killed him, that he might not fall alive into the hands of the king's guards, who.



TOMB HEWN IN THE ROCK, AT THE ENTRANCE OF DELPHI.¹

returning to the scene of the attack, had discovered that the assailants were very few in number, and had followed in pursuit.

Meanwhile the Aitolian had remained beside the king, sheltering him with his own body; and when the guards returned, they lifted Eumenes from the ground and bore him down the hill.

¹ From the *Tour du Monde*. xxxiii. 144. This tomb, situated at the entrance of the holy city, is on the road from Delphi to Kirrha.

Still unconscious, he was put on board his vessel and carried to Corinth, and thence to Aigina, the galley being carried across the isthmus. The party landed in Aigina, and a profound silence was maintained as to what had happened. It was evident by whose order the blow had been struck, and the king was still too near Macedon to make it safe for tidings to go out as to his actual condition. The news of his death was current at Pergamon, and already Attalos, his brother, had claimed the crown and the queen's hand.

A Roman commissioner, Valerius, was at the time in Greece. He now made report to the Senate in respect to this new offence, bringing with him two witnesses against the king of Macedon. The first of these was the woman with whom Perseus usually lodged when he visited Delphi, and who, on receiving a letter

from him, had placed at the service of his men the house near which the crime had been committed. The second, Rammius of Brundisium, who usually entertained Romans of distinction travelling in Greece, and also deputies of foreign



TETRADRACHM OF PERSEUS.¹

nations, deposed that, being sent for by Perseus, there had been made him by the king the most splendid offers if he would agree to poison such Romans lodging in his house as the king should designate to him.

Perseus, very roughly handled by Livy, has naturally found apologists who hesitate at nothing. It is impossible to admit that the assassination of Eumenes was an invention of the Romans or an affair of ordinary brigandage. To destroy the king of Pergamon was greatly for the interest of Perseus, and moreover would be the gratification of revenge, — two motives which in those days were sufficient. We must therefore lay to his charge the unsuccessful attempt at Delphi, while admitting that Rammius, found in Greece

¹ Diademed head of Perseus, right profile; under the neck, ΖΩΙΑΟΥ, the name of the artist-engraver. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΣ; eagle standing to the right on a thunderbolt; in the field a monogram; the whole surrounded with a wreath of oak-leaves.

on his return from a journey in Macedon, invented a fiction to account for his presence at Pella, to serve the projects of Rome and to advance his own fortunes; for, according to Roman usages, this *delatio* was certain to be extremely well rewarded.¹

Was it now the time for Perseus boldly to take the offensive, and in the hope of rousing Greece to come forth from his Macedonian mountains, which were like impregnable walls? Doubtless audacity would for a time have been successful, and his army would have been increased by a certain number of volunteers.² But these kings and these peoples who had made him so many promises would not have dared to give him a single soldier. Antiochos, whose brother was detained a hostage at Rome, forgot him in quarrels with Philometor concerning Cœle-Syria; and Masinissa, who had just deprived Carthage of a fourth province, with seventy cities, bought the complaisant silence of Rome by important assistance. Eumenes had persuaded Ariarathes; Rhodes dared not refuse vessels to the Senate; Ptolemy even offered them. Perseus had nothing. Kotys, king of the Odrysai, was indeed for him, but other Thracian chiefs were for Rome; Gentios, a cruel and profligate king, wished to be paid in money for the trifling assistance he would give,³ and the Bastarnai required for foot-soldiers five pieces of gold per man, ten for the cavalry, and a thousand for the leaders. These rapacious auxiliaries were like the Galatians of Asia Minor, from whom the Eastern kings had had to suffer so much; Perseus conceived a great distrust of them, and was not prompt in completing the negotiations.⁴ Hence at the moment of the struggle he was alone.

¹ Livy, xlii. 15, 17. Perseus caused it to be declared to the Senate that the accusation of Rammius was altogether false.

² *In liberis gentibus plebs ubique omnis . . . erat ad regem Macedonesque inclinata.* But the aristocratic party, everywhere supported by Rome, was also everywhere the stronger.

³ Polybios, xxix. 7. This petty king, whose strength has been singularly exaggerated, did not even fight to save his own territory, the conquest of which Anicius effected in a few days. The contingent furnished by Kotys was a thousand horse and as many foot.

⁴ Plutarch, *In Æmil.*; Livy, xliv. 26.

II. — BATTLE OF PYDNA (168 B. C.).

THE Senate sent at first only a praetor with five thousand men. But seven commissioners preceded the army; they went throughout Greece, where their mere presence sufficed to destroy the effect of six years of prudence and concessions on the part of the Macedonian king. — a proof, if any were needed, of the frailty of the support to which Perseus was supposed to have confided his for-

LARISSA.¹

tunes. In Thessaly all cities not occupied by the Macedonians gave hostages, whom the Romans placed in Larissa. In Aitolia, where fierce dissensions² were depriving the people of the little strength remaining to them, the commissioners caused one of their partisans to be appointed strategos, and they deported into Italy all those who were designated to them as the enemies of Rome; in Boiotia they broke up the league, and recovered to their alliance all the cities; in the Peloponnesos, the Achaïans, for a time hesitating, promised to send a thousand men to defend Chalkis; and lastly, Akarnania, and even Epeiros, showed a cordiality which augured well. From his mountain-tops Perseus observed

¹ From a sketch by Daumet, in the *Tour du Monde*, liv. 432. The view is taken below a bridge which unites the two banks of the Peneios.

² See Livy, xli. 25, who records the massacre of eighty of the principal citizens: *idem furor et Cretenses lacerabat*.

these expeditions, these intrigues of the Roman ambassadors; and he allowed Greece to be taken away from him without risking a conflict for her, as if she were not worth even the honor of a battle. Instead of acting, he negotiated; and after having provoked his implacable foe, he stopped, losing voluntarily the only chance he had, not of being victorious, but of falling gloriously, after having, for a time at least, shaken the world.

SILVER COIN.¹

While the praetor with his small army was taking up his position in Dassaretia, Perseus sent two embassies into Italy; and he solicited a truce, which Marcius, the chief of the Roman deputa-
 tion, hastened to grant him, so that the Senate might have time to complete all needful preparations.² At Rome his deputies were kept waiting five months for their answer, and as soon as the return of spring made it possible to take

SILVER COIN.³

the field, they received orders to quit Italy. Following them closely, the consul Licinius landed near Apollonia. He traversed unopposed Epeiros, Athamania, and the defiles of Gomphoi; Perseus awaited him at the foot of Mount Ossa, at the entrance to the valley of Tempe, — the only route by which it was possible to go from Thrace into Macedon. This long and narrow gorge, where the Peneios forces its way between the spurs of Ossa and Olympos, was in antiquity a locality very famous for its picturesque beauty and savage grandeur. On the edge of this poetic region, at Sykourion, the soldiers of Perseus and those of Rome met

SILVER COIN.⁴

¹ Coin of the Akarnanian League at Anaktorion. Laurelled head of Apollo, three-quarters front. Reverse: AN. (Anaktorion) in a monogram; Pegasus flying to the left.

² See in Livy, xlii. 47, how Marcius congratulates himself on having deceived Perseus by granting this truce, on having broken up the Boiotian League, etc. The older senators blamed this Punic policy.

³ Coin of the Epeirots, *in genere*. Head of Dodonian Zeus, left profile, wearing a wreath of oak-leaves: behind, ΑΥΣΗΝ, a magistrate's name; underneath, in connected letters, ΦΑΡΚΑΔΟ (Pharkadon) and a monogram. Reverse: ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ; an eagle standing, to the left, on a thunderbolt; the whole in a wreath of oak-leaves.

⁴ Coin of the Thessalians, *in genere*. Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ: bridled horse stepping to the right; underneath, a monogram.

for the first time. The advantage was not with the Romans. Licinius had the worst in a skirmish which would have become a general engagement if Perseus had advanced his phalanx. Recrossing the Peneios during the night, the Roman left behind him more than twenty-four hundred killed or taken prisoners.

Observant Greece applauded this first success.¹ But Perseus stopped, and asked for peace, offering tribute and the relinquish-



MOUNT OSSA.²

ment of his conquests.³ The defeated consul would listen to no other terms than that Perseus should place himself and his kingdom at the discretion of the Senate. At the same time Licinius was unable to justify his arrogant tone; he was again defeated, near Phalanna, and went to winter in Boiotia, after taking a few Thessalian cities. A naval victory gained off Oreos, and victories in Thrace over a lieutenant of Eumenes, ended this campaign favorably for Perseus. The odious conduct of the consul and of the prætor Lucretius, who pillaged the allies shamelessly, increased

¹ Livy, xlii. 63.

² From a sketch by Heuzey, in the *Tour du Monde*, liv. 426. Mount Ossa is the highest point on the right of the valley of Tempe.

³ Livy, xlii. 56-63.

the discontent; many districts of Epeiros declared openly for Perseus;¹ Aitolia and Akarnania were in revolt.

A new consul, A. Hostilius, as incapable as his predecessor, arrived. In crossing Epeiros he narrowly escaped being captured by a party of the enemy. The campaign corresponded with its beginning: Hostilius was defeated, and wasted the year in seeking an entrance into Macedon. Everywhere Perseus was established



MACEDONIAN COINS, IN GENERE.²

in impregnable positions. The two lieutenants who attacked by sea and on the coast of Illyria were no more successful: one did nothing beyond destroying Abdera; the other, Cassius, posted at Lychnidos, lost six thousand men in an ill-managed attack upon Uscana. As soon as he knew that the Romans had retired into their quarters, Perseus hastened to punish the Dardanians, destroying ten thousand of them, and he employed the winter in capturing many places in Illyria, where he made six

¹ It has been said, the whole of Epeiros; but the Molossians stopped Perseus on the banks of the Aoüs in 170 B.C., and Claudius levied six thousand Thesprotian and Athamanian auxiliaries (Livy, xliii. 3, 21). Marcius bought of the Epeirots, in 169 B.C., the provisions necessary for the army in Macedon.

² 1. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: MAKEΔONΩN; lyre; at the left, a bow; at the right, a monogram of the mint. (Bronze.) 2. Head of Zeus, with a wreath of oak-leaves, right profile. Reverse: MAKEΔONΩN; a winged thunderbolt; in the field, the monogram of the city Bottiaia. (Bronze.) Head of Silenos, front face, wearing an ivy-wreath. Reverse: MAKEΔONΩN; above, the Latin letter D; the whole in an ivy-wreath. (Bronze.) Diademed head of Poseidon, right profile. Reverse: MAKEΔONΩN; a club; in the field, two monograms; the whole in a wreath of oak-leaves. (Bronze.)

thousand Romans prisoners.¹ He hoped to close on this side the approaches to Macedon, and possibly cause the defection of Genthios. The Barbarian asked for money, and Perseus refused. Epeiros appeared to be favorable, and hoping to influence Aitolia also, he advanced as far as Stratos with ten thousand men. But the Romans were already in possession of the city.

SILVER COIN.²

This activity and these successes furnished inducement for irresolute peoples to seize the occasion to join Perseus; but it was at this very moment that a crowd of envoys presented themselves at Rome. Athens, Miletos, Athabanda, Krete, renewed their promises of service or offered gifts; Lampsakos solicited the title of ally. The Carthaginians had offered 1,500,000 bushels of wheat; Masinissa promised as much more, and besides, twelve hundred Numidians and twelve elephants, having already sent twenty-two elephants and two thousand auxiliaries.⁴ Perseus still remained alone.

GOLD COIN.³

Meanwhile, owing to the incapacity of the generals, the war was becoming serious. Rome was growing uneasy; it was forbidden to senators to go more than a mile away from the city; sixty thousand men were levied in Italy; and the new consul, Marcius, took reinforcements with him to fill the gaps made in the army by the furloughs that the consuls and praetors had sold

CARTHAGINIAN COIN.⁵

to the troops. To destroy the effect of the exactions of which the Greeks had been the victims, the consul caused himself to be

¹ Livy, xliii. 3.

² Coin of the Epeirot, *in genere*. Heads of Zeus and Dione, *accollés*, right profile; behind, a monogram. Reverse: ΑΗΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ; thunderbolt; the whole in a wreath of oak-leaves.

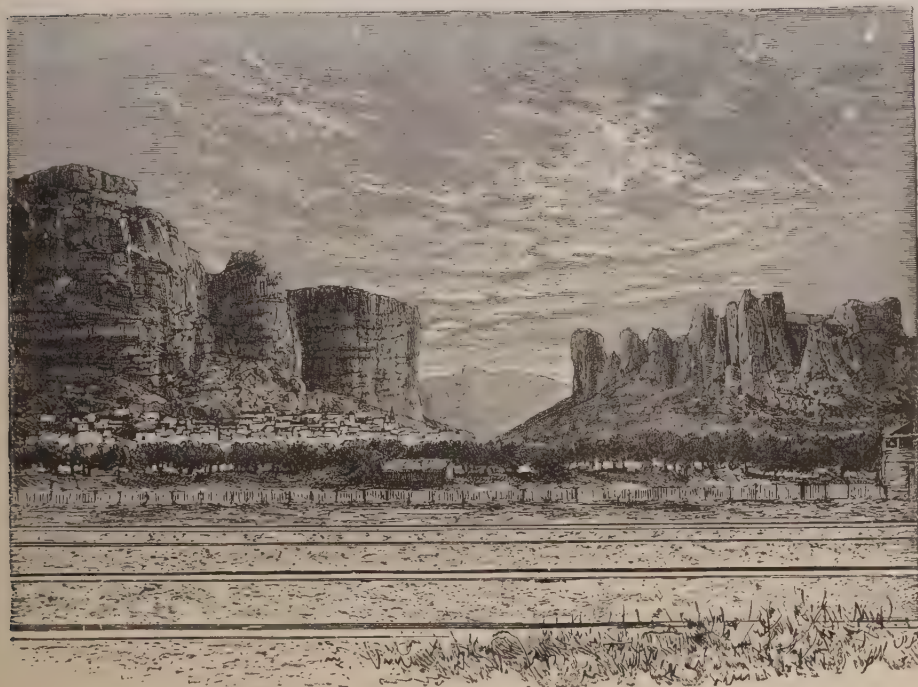
³ Bearded head of one of the Kabeiroi, or of Odysseus, left profile, with a conical cap surrounded by a laurel-wreath. (Stater of Lampsakos.)

⁴ Rhodes, Samos, Chalkedon, and Pontic Herakleia, across the Euxine, had sent vessels (Livy, xlii. 55).

⁵ Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: horse's head, to the left; behind, a palm-tree; in Phœnician legend, ים כחנת (*am mahaneh*, the people and the camp?). Tetradrachm.

preceded by a decree of the Senate, which forbade furnishing anything to the army beyond that which had been agreed upon.

The Kambounian Mountains and Olympos shut in Macedon on the south,—the side on which Marcius had decided to make the attack,—and it was a formidable barrier. Before attempting it, he questioned the natives of the country as to the roads, or rather the steep foot-paths, which lead into Macedon, and he engaged



VIEW OF THESSALY, ON THE FRONTIER OF EPEIROS.¹

guides for his army; after which he held a council of war. Some proposed to cross by way of Pythion, between Olympos and the Kambounian Mountains, and others to go around these mountains, where Perseus had accumulated his material for defence, and enter the kingdom by Elimeia, at the pass of the Forty Fords (Sarandaporos), guarded by the Vigla (the Sentinel). The road of Pythion led to the defile of Petra, closed by a fortress built on a sharp point of rock, above which towers Olympos to a height of 9,754

¹ From a photograph. The small modern city of Kalabaka, situated at the foot of spurs of the Pindos, on the left bank of the Peneios, commands one of the routes between Thessaly and Epeiros.

feet. It would have been imprudent to bring the whole army through gorges so easily defensible, and moreover so remote from the supplies stored in Thessaly. Leaving Oloosson, the way into Pieria was shorter by the Kanalia; but this was a pass with difficulty



MAP OF LOWER MACEDON.

to be reached by an army, and from which the descent was still more difficult: it lay along four torrents which had channelled out on the eastern slope impassable ravines, and seen from below, the immense mountain seemed to be cleft by them from base to summit. In respect to the defile of Tempe, a traveller might easily pass through it, but not a legion, if it were guarded by only a handful



VALLEY OF TEMPE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

of men; and in a distance of five miles a beast of burden could scarcely find room for itself and its load.¹

These natural defences of the road by which the Romans would enter Macedon seemed to be almost an insuperable obstacle to their advance. Perseus, with a skill which has been undervalued, had placed ten thousand men on the Volustana, to command the two defiles of Sarandaporos and Petra. He had posted twelve thousand with Hippias, above the marsh Askouris, probably on Mount Sipoto, in order to guard on this side the foot-paths over the mountain. Furthermore, he had posted troops in the valley of Tempe, and had taken up his own position at Dion, behind these defences, to strengthen them wherever there should be any sign of feebleness; and that he himself might be in no danger from crews of the Roman vessels landing in his rear, he covered the shore with his light cavalry.

Marcus for some time hesitated as to the point at which he should break through this formidable line; he at last decided on an enterprise which by its very boldness would give the greatest results in the event of success. He resolved to go around the great marsh Askouris, taking with him his entire army and a month's provisions, and to cross the plateau of Oktolophos, the Eight Summits, of which one, now called the Mount of Transfiguration, is nearly five thousand feet in height. "Thence," says the historian, "the whole country is visible, from Phila to Dion, and all the coast of Pieria."² While the consul crossed the mountains, the praetor, with his fleet, was to threaten the coast and land at different points. Marcus had thirty-seven thousand men; he rapidly advanced a detachment against the division of Hippias to destroy it or hold it in check. A band of picked men, whom he sent forward around the marsh, opened to him on the south the road to Rapsani, defended by the fortress Lapathous; another attacked on the west the Macedonians upon the heights. For two days there was fighting, while the king dared not quit the coast to take advantage of

¹ According to Polybios, who was with the army as deputy of the Achaïans, and from whom Livy (xliv. 6) has borrowed a minute description of the region.

² Heuzey, who went over the route taken by Marcus, and found, as he thought, the site of the Roman camp on the plateau of Livadhi, confirms the words of Livy. "From this height," he says, "we beheld at our feet the whole sea-coast: in the distance is the wide curve of the Salonic gulf, and on its extreme shore the city, plainly visible, with its walls: then the long points of Chalkidike, and on a clear day, Mount Athos" (*Le Mont Olympe*, p. 71).

the dangerous position in which the Romans were placed. They at last made their way out by sheer audacity. While Hippias, under the stress of this violent attack, was concentrating his forces for a desperate resistance, Marcius, concealing his movements by a cordon of troops, marched over rocks and through forests to the western slope of Olympos, and thence, with extreme danger and difficulty,¹ came down into the plains of Pieria. His communications were cut, but he had forced the passage and been victorious over Nature.

It was indeed over Nature that he had triumphed. The learned traveller who has followed step by step the track of the army of Marcius in these mountains says:—

“The Romans came down into Macedon over the precipices. I have seen nothing wilder or more magnificent than the slopes of the lower Olympos over which they made their way; it is an immense forest, covering with its shade a whole region of cliffs and ravines. In gorges, wooded to the bottom, clear and rapid streams rush noisily downward. The vigor and the variety of the vegetation are incredible: trees of the plain, which it is surprising to see at such a height, oaks, and especially great plane-trees, climb along the torrents up to the chestnuts, and almost to the firs. It is easy to understand how, while crossing these dense forests, a whole army could easily be unnoticed by those who believed it had retreated in the opposite direction. . . . This is very probably the forest of which Livy speaks. From Skotina² to the foot of the mountain I sought to represent to myself the great pathway laid open by the axe, and the disorder of this army rolling down into the plain, says Livy, rather than marching down. The cavalry, the baggage-trains, and the beasts of burden (which were a great embarrassment) were in advance with the elephants,—which their drivers with great difficulty induced to slide down inclined planes; and the legions brought up the rear. From Skotina we were at least four hours in reaching the foot of the last slopes. There, on the edge of the plain, are numerous hillocks, covered with olive-groves and the ruins of a small monastery,—the Panaghia. Here the Roman consul encamped, after having employed three days in making the descent; the infantry occupied the hillocks, and the cavalry were in front of them, on the edge of the plain.”³

¹ *Inenarrabilis labor.*

² Heuzey believed the descent to have been made in the direction of the present villages of Skotina and Pandeileimone. The latter is hung, as it were, among the chestnut-trees above the Turkish fortress of Platamona, the ancient Herakleion of Pieria.

³ Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe*, pp. 75 et seq.

A strong rear-guard left on the heights had concealed from the detachment of Hippias this daring movement. Thus in ten days after he had taken command of the army Marcius had determined on his plan, collected his provisions, had fought twice on the mountain, and forced an entrance into Macedon; it is a splendid page in military history.

During these operations Perseus was at Dion with one half of his army; alarmed at the sight of the legions,¹ he abandoned the strong position that he was occupying, and fell back upon Pydna, committing the unpardonable fault of calling in the detachments that guarded the defiles. Marcius at once seized them, and made himself secure. His communications being thus re-established, the consul advanced upon Dion; but the lack of provisions and the approach of winter stopped him: he ceased hostilities, and boldly established his quarters in Pieria. Macedon had at last been entered.

BRONZE COIN.²

Not to be disturbed in the position he had taken, and at the same time to keep open his communications with Thessaly, whence

he expected supplies, Marcius caused his lieutenants to capture the little forts that guarded the defile of Tempe, among others Phila, where Perseus

COINS OF LAMIA IN THESSALY.³

had collected a large amount of wheat. Finding himself too much exposed at Dion, where the plain of Pieria begins to broaden, the Macedonian king concentrated his forces behind the Enipeus, which

¹ Livy asserts that in his terror he sent a messenger to Pella and one to Thessalonika to burn his vessels and throw his treasures into the sea. His situation was not so desperate as that, and as Livy adds that, later, ashamed of his alarm, he caused the persons to disappear to whom he had given this order, we may class the story with the rest that the Romans put in circulation as to his cruelty, avarice, and cowardice.

² Coin of Pydna. Woman's head, left profile. Reverse: ΠΥΔΝΑΙΩΝ: an owl, to the left.

³ 1. Head of the nymph Lamia, right profile, with her hair on her shoulders. Reverse: ΑΑΜΙΕΩΝ: the youthful Herakles, seated on a rock to the left; he holds his bow and quiver. (Silver.) 2. Head of the nymph Lamia, right profile, her hair covered by a *sphondylium*. Reverse: ΑΑΜΙΕΩΝ: Herakles, nude, kneeling to the right and drawing his bow; on the ground, his club and quiver. (Bronze.)

in the winter offered an excellent line of defence. "This torrent," says Livy, "descends from a gorge in Olympus. A scanty stream in summer, the winter rains make it an impetuous torrent. It rushes over the huge rocks, and in the ravine into which it plunges,



carries the soil away with it and digs out a deep bed having high and precipitous banks." The inhabitants call it "the Abyss" (Vythos), and it well deserves that name.

News of these successes had just reached Rome, when Rhodian envoys, appearing in the Senate, declared that, ruined by this war, they were anxious to have it ended, and that if Rome or Perseus refused to cease fighting, they should decide what measures to adopt towards whichever of the two adversaries opposed peace. The only reply made by the Senate was to order a decree to

be read setting free their subjects, the Lykians and Karians. Eumenes also, whose pride had been offended, had just left the Roman camp, and Prousius interposed as mediator. It was time to make an end of Macedon. The comitia raised to the consular office Paulus Aemilius, a man of antique virtue, a scholar, moreover, as all the patricians now were, and a friend of Greek art and civilization. Notwithstanding his sixty years, he displayed the activity of a young and prudent officer. He began by ordering an inspection of the fleet, the army, the position of the enemy and of the legions, the condition of the magazines, and the disposition of the allies. Genthios deceived by a promise of three hundred talents, had finally sided with Macedon; Eumenes had opened secret negotiations with Perseus; the Rhodians had almost openly espoused his cause; and the Macedonian fleet was supreme in the Ægean Sea and among the Cyclades. But Perseus had just lost the support of twenty thousand Gauls, whom he had called from the banks of the Danube. He refused them the promised pay at a moment when he would have done well to double it to obtain their assistance, however dangerous that assistance might become after a joint victory.

In accordance with this information, Paulus Aemilius made his plan. With the army of Marcius he would attack Macedon in front, driving back the king as he advanced. Octavius with his fleet would form the right wing, and after having swept the Ægean Sea, would threaten the coasts and cause anxiety to the Macedonian rear. Anicius with two legions in Illyria would form the left wing; he would crush Genthios, and fall back upon Macedon by way of Dassaretia. Eighty thousand men at least were about to be engaged;¹ and Licinius, the other consul, held an army ready on the coast of the Adriatic, with which in case of need he would hasten to the aid of his colleague.

In the camp Paulus Aemilius occupied himself in restoring to Roman discipline its ancient vigor.² The soldiers were not allowed to remain idle, and all military exercises were brought into repute once more; the general even deprived the sentinels of their shields, that he might increase their vigilance. It had been the custom

¹ Thirty-seven thousand in the Roman army, and forty-three thousand Macedonians or auxiliaries of Perseus. Polybios and Plutarch (*in Æmil.*, 12) say one hundred thousand. But there were garrisons.

² Livy, xlv. 2.

to give the watchword aloud, and it was sometimes overheard by the enemy; he ordered it to be given by the centurions to one another in a low tone. The advanced guards had been left to become weary, being under arms all day; he now changed them at sunrise and at noon, that there might be fresh guards always at the outposts.

Perseus was encamped behind the Enipeus in the strong position that we have described. By a feigned attack, which was kept up for two days, the consul sought to retain him there while Scipio Nasica, with a picked corps, returned into the defile of

BRONZE COIN.¹BRONZE COIN.²DENARIUS.³

Tempe, and, making a circuit around the mountain, arrived by the route of Pythion at the defile of Petra. The king had suspected this movement, and twelve thousand Macedonians barred the way. They were poor troops, the better soldiers having been retained in the phalanx facing Paulus Aemilius, — they were even not skillful in taking good positions, and Nasica easily defeated them; he pursued the fugitives, captured the fortress of Petra, which they made no attempt to defend, and came down into the plain of Katerini; whereupon Perseus, seeing himself between two foes, broke up his camp on the Enipeus, and retired to Pydna, northward of Katerini.

A plain admirably suited to the phalanx extended in front of the city. Perseus, who could not without disgrace and danger retreat farther, resolved to give battle here. In the night preceding the action, an eclipse of the moon alarmed the Macedonians; by order of Paulus Aemilius, the tribune Sulpicius Gallus explained to the legionaries the cause of this phenomenon (22 June, 68 B. C.).⁴

¹ Coin of Gentios, king of Illyria (177–168 B. C.). Head of Gentios, wearing the *kausia*, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΓΕΝΘΙΟΥ; a galley.

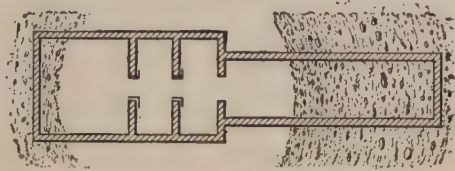
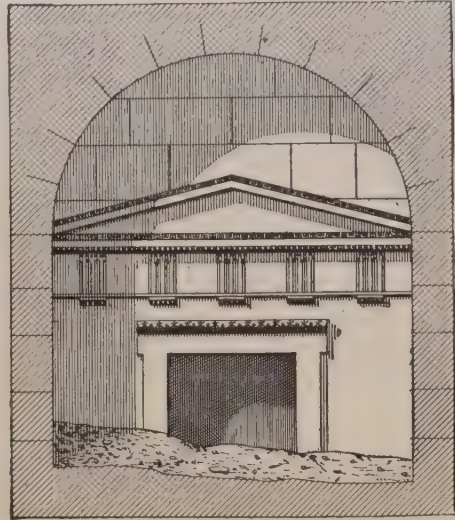
² Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: ΠΕΡ[σεως] in monogram; horseman stepping to the right; in the field, two mint-marks. (Bronze.)

³ Perseus before Paulus Aemilius. Reverse of a denarius of the Aemilian family.

⁴ This eclipse was not, as is often said, *predicted* the evening before, but *explained* on the following day (Cic., *de Rep.*, i. 15). The great astronomer Hipparchos, a contemporary of Paulus Aemilius, could have predicted it, but not Gallus.

A few days earlier the army had suffered from thirst; the consul, observing the direction of the mountain ranges, had ordered the digging of wells, and water had been found in abundance. These circumstances led the soldiers to believe that their leader was inspired by the gods, and they called out loudly to be led to battle. But hemmed in as he was by the sea, by an army of forty-three thousand men, and by mountains which, in case of defeat, it would be impossible to cross, Paulus Aemilius would not incur the risk; and it was only after he had made his camp a fortress that he decided to fight.¹ The Macedonians attacked with fury. The plain glittered with weapons; even the consul could not see without a certain alarm those serried and impenetrable ranks, that moving wall bristling with pikes. He concealed his fears, and to inspire confidence in the troops allowed it to be noticed that he put on neither helmet nor cuirass. The phalanx at first overthrew all that opposed it; but success

leading the Macedonians on far beyond the place that Perseus had selected for them, the unevenness of the ground and some irregularity in marching made gaps in the ranks, into which the Romans flung themselves. From this moment it was as at Kynoskephalai, — the



Part of the tumulus, showing plan of subterranean construction.

MACEDONIAN TOMB IN PYDNA (RESTORATION AND PLAN).²

¹ According to Heuzey, Scipio Nasica, descending the valley of the Mavroneri, joined, the day before the battle, the consul, who came by the road from Spighi. Paulus Aemilius had established his camp in the higher part of the plain, between the Mavroneri and the Pelikas. On the latter river the engagement began, and the fugitives from the first line retreated to Mount Olokros; but the battle swept northward, and ended near Arani. (*Op. cit.*, p. 152 *et seq.*)

² From L. Heuzey and Daumet, *Mission archéol. de Macédoine*, pl. 18. This tomb was concealed under a tumulus. On page 265 is represented the present condition of the façade of the tomb of Kourino. See also the map on p. 442.

phalanx, shaken, disunited, lost its strength ; instead of a combined attack there were a thousand petty encounters. The entire phalanx, twenty thousand men, were left upon the field, and the rivulet which traversed the plain ran red with blood for twenty-four hours. The



APOLLO.¹

Romans acknowledged the loss of no more than a hundred men, — but this is scarcely credible, — and they made eleven thousand prisoners. Pydna was sacked, and at the present day even its ruins have disappeared ; but as is fitting in such a place, tombs mark the site of the once flourishing city, and the memory of the day when Macedon fell, lingers vaguely in a legend, graceful and yet terrible, which is related at Paleo-Kitros. In the region which certainly was the scene of the principal engagement, lilies of a peculiar kind grow profusely ; the inhabitants call the place *Louloudia*, “the valley of flowers ;” and they believe that these flowers sprang first from the human blood shed there in the great battle.

Perseus fled to Pella. This capital, situated on a height whose approaches are protected in summer as well as in winter by impracticable marshes, was easily defensible ; but the king had no army, and the inhabitants yielded to the general discouragement. He was advised to withdraw into the mountainous provinces on the Thracian frontier, and to attempt a guerilla warfare ; he made inquiries as to the disposition of the Bisaltai, and urged the citizens of Amphipolis to defend their town, that he might keep for himself a seaport.² But everywhere he met with refusals and reproaches, and he received

¹ Marble statue of the former Choiseul-Gouffier collection ; now in the British Museum (from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, pl. iv.).

² These facts, related by Livy (xliv. 45), are inconsistent with the story of the king's cowardly despair after the battle.

information that one city after another had opened its gates without waiting to be attacked. Thus left alone, and without resources, he asked for peace, and while awaiting the consul's reply took refuge with his family and his treasures in the sacred island of Samothrace.

In his letter, Perseus had used the title of king, and Paulus Aemilius returned it unread; a second, in which the royal title was not employed, obtained for its sole reply that he must surrender himself and his treasures. Upon this, Perseus endeavored to escape to Kotys in Thrace. But the fleet of the praetor Octavius guarded the island closely, and a Kretan who had promised to take the king in his vessel sailed without him as soon as he had received the money promised for this service. Finally, a traitor gave up to the praetor the younger children of Perseus, and he himself, with his eldest son, surrendered to the consul. Paulus Aemilius, touched by the king's misfortunes, received him kindly,¹ welcomed him to his own table, and urged him to hope much from the clemency of the Roman people (168 B. C.).

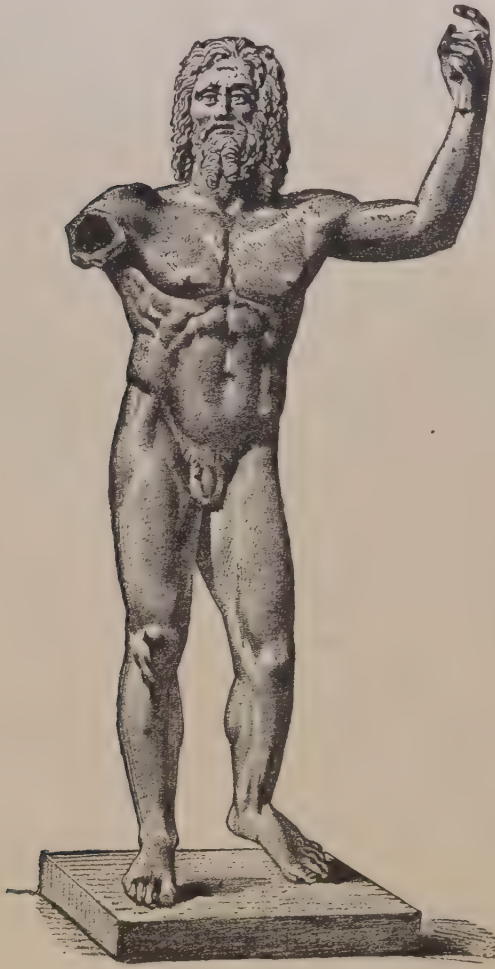
Even before the battle of Pydna, Anicius had besieged Genthios in Skodra, his capital, and had forced the king to surrender, thirty days sufficing for this conquest, which had not cost even a skirmish.

While awaiting the arrival of the Senate's commissioners, Paulus Aemilius made a journey through Greece to visit its places of interest. He went to Delphi, where he caused his own statue to be erected on the pedestal destined for that of Perseus; he visited the cave of Trophonios, Chalkis, and the Euripos, with its peculiar tidal phenomena; Aulis, the rendezvous of Agamemnon's thousand vessels; Athens, where he sacrificed to Athene, as at Delphi to Apollo; Corinth, still rich with all its treasures; Sikyon, Argos, Epidauros with its temple of Asklepios; Megalopolis, the city of Epameinondas; Sparta and Olympia, — everywhere calling out glorious memories and rendering homage to this Greece now so abased. At Olympia he seemed to himself in the presence of Jupiter, as he looked at the great statue of Pheidias, and he sacrificed with as much pomp as he would

¹ Perseus was held under so little restraint that on one occasion he was able to go more than a day's journey from the Roman camp without his absence being noticed (Livy, xlv. 28).

have done in the Capitol at Rome. It was his desire to be victorious over the Greeks in magnificence also. "He who can gain a battle," he said, "should be able to arrange a banquet

or a festival." He prepared at Amphipolis Greek and Roman games, which he announced to the countries and kings of Asia, and to which he invited the most important men in Greece. There were gathered at this festival skilful actors and athletes and famous horses from all parts of the Greek world. Outside the lists were displayed the statues and pictures, tapestries, vases of gold, silver, bronze, and ivory, and all the curiosities and works of art found in the palace of Perseus. The lances of the Macedonians were heaped together in a huge pile, which Paulus Aemilius set on fire, terminating the festival by the gloomy splendor of a conflagration. This holocaust made known to Greece and to the world the destruction of the Macedonian empire, as the burning of the palace



ZEUS.¹

in Persepolis by Alexander, a century and a half earlier, had announced the destruction of the empire of Cyrus.

¹ Bronze discovered near Janina, in Epeiros, and now in the Museum of Tchinkli kiosk, at Constantinople (from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. ix., 1885, pl. xiv.). The god leaned with his left hand on the sceptre, and doubtless held in the right either the eagle or the thunderbolt. M. Collignon, who first published a representation of this statuette, believes it of not later date than the second century B. C.

Meanwhile the commissioners of the Senate had arrived. Paulus Aemilius conferred with them upon the fate of Macedon, and having



HEAD OF A VICTORIOUS ATHLETE.¹

summoned to Amphipolis, to appear before his tribunal in the presence of an immense crowd, ten of the principal men from each

¹ Bronze of the Glyptothek in Munich (No. 302 of the *Description*, by H. Brunn); from the *Monuments de la Sculpture grecque et romaine*, . . . published by Brunn and Bruckmann,

city, he declared to them the pleasure of the Roman people. He spoke in Latin, because it was fitting that the conqueror should use his own language in addressing the conquered; but the praetor Octavius repeated the words in Greek. The Macedonians were to be free, and to preserve their cities and annual magistrates, their territories and their laws, and would be required to pay to Rome only half the tribute they had been accustomed to pay their own kings; but Macedon, reduced to a Roman province and governed by a proconsul, was to be divided into four districts, the inhabitants of each being forbidden to contract marriage or to have any traffic with those of the other districts. Only the districts adjacent to the Barbarians were allowed to have an armed force. The inhabitants of the third district were to supply salt to the Dardanians at a fixed price.¹ The friends and courtiers of the king, his military and naval officers of high rank, his governors of fortresses and cities,—in short, all who held office from him,—with their children, were to accompany the consul into Italy; and all these persons he designated by name. He then gave the Macedonians a code of laws appropriate to their new situation, and in each district intrusted the local administration to a senate,—that is to say, to a few men selected from among the friends of Rome, “lest the people should cause the regulated liberty which they owed to the Romans to degenerate into license;”² after which he departed for Epeiros, while Anicius made the same arrangements in Illyria, where the number of districts was three, instead of four.

Macedon was too rich to be given up to the pillage of the soldiers,—only a few cities being thus abandoned to them, where, after the battle of Pydna, there had been hesitation as to opening

livraison ii., No. 8. The breast is modern, but the head is certainly antique, and of a very good epoch. The lips are gilded; the eyes were doubtless silver.

¹ Many cities which had favored the Romans were exempted from tribute (Livy, xlv. 26).

² Livy, xlv. 18: *Ne improbum vulgus a Senatu Romano aliquando libertatem salubri moderatione datam ad licentiam pestilentem traheret.*

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented a marble statue, discovered in 1886 at Epidauros, and now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (No. 121 of the *Catalogue* of Kavvadias), from the *Monuments de la sculpture grecque et romaine, disposés dans l'ordre historique, publiés sous la direction de H. Brunn par F. Bruckmann*, Munich, 1888, livraison iii., No. 14. This is a remarkable replica of an original now lost, and the type recalls that of the Aphrodite known as the Venus Genitrix. Cf. Fröhner, *Notice de la Sculpture antique du musée national du Louvre*, No. 125.

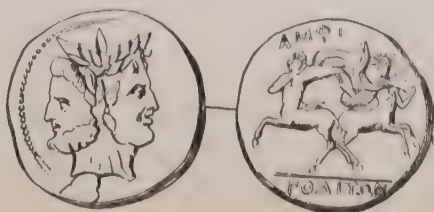


APHRODITE OF EPIDAUROS.

the gates. The consul had sought, moreover, to separate the cause of the king from that of the people; it was desired to seem hostile to Perseus only, and to take no spoils but from him,—thus to render insecure in advance all thrones not yet destroyed. Macedon and Illyria were spared, therefore; but the soldiers murmured, and Epeiros was given up to them.

The policy of large bodies of men is often pitiless, because among those who take joint action no individual is personally responsible. The Epeiroti had broken faith, and the Senate, to make a salutary impression upon its allies,

proposed to treat them like deserters who had forfeited their lives: the punishment was limited, however, to selling them as slaves.

COIN OF AMPHIPOLIS.¹BRONZE COIN.³

But what severity this was towards an entire people! Paulus Aemilius wept, it is said, when he read the decree. Cohorts, sent into the seventy cities of Epeiros,² had orders on the same day, at the same hour, to give them up to pillage and destroy their walls. The booty was

so large that each foot-soldier, after having laid aside for the treasury the gold and silver, received two hundred denarii, and each trooper four hundred. A hundred and fifty thousand Epeiroti were sold as slaves.

Paulus Aemilius then returned to Rome, sailing up the Tiber in the galley of Perseus, which was covered with the brazen shields of the phalanx. The triumphal procession lasted three days, so vast was the amount of the spoils. On the first day the statues and pictures, on two hundred and fifty carts, were carried through the streets. On the second, a long train of wagons loaded with weapons, and three thousand men carrying seven hundred and fifty vases,

¹ Laurelled head of Janus bifrons (imitated from the coins of the Roman republic). Reverse: ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ; two centaurs, probably drawing the bow, and galloping away from each other. (Bronze.)

² Almost the whole country of the Molossians (Polybios, xxx. 9). Livy, in representing the Molossians as hostile to Perseus, must have mistaken them for some other Epeirot tribe.

³ Coin of the Epeiroti, *in genere*. Diademed head of Artemis, right profile; under the neck, a monogram of the mint. Reverse: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΩΤΑΝ; a spear-head; the whole in a laurel-wreath.

of which each contained three talents in coined silver, and other vases and cups remarkable for their size or their beauty of design. On the third day the soldiers carried coined gold in seventy-seven vases, three talents in each; four hundred gold wreaths, sent by the cities of Greece and Asia; a vase of ten talents weight, of gold and gems; and the ancestral gold cups of the Macedonian kings; lastly, the king's chariot, on which lay his arms and his diadem. Then followed a multitude of captives, among them the children of Kotys and of Perseus, instructed by their tutors to hold out supplicating hands to the crowd as they moved along; lastly walked Perseus, clad in mourning attire, and like one by

BRONZE COINS.¹

the greatness of his misfortunes bereft of reason. He had implored Paulus Aemilius to spare him this humiliation. "It is a thing which always

has been, and still is in his own power," the Roman answered harshly. Thrown into a dungeon in the city of Alba, Perseus had reason to know what this Roman clemency was which Paulus Aemilius had spoken of so proudly; and the year after the triumph, the king either starved himself to death or perished in consequence of the slow tortures which his jailers inflicted upon him. His eldest son, Philip, died before him; the second, to earn his living, followed the trade of a turner, and later, this heir of Alexander obtained the occupation of a recorder.

Genthios, after having appeared in the triumph of the praetor Anicius, was imprisoned at Iguvium, among the Umbrian mountains.

Even more sad was the destiny of the famous people who had conquered Greece and Asia. Never again did Macedon rise to the rank of a nation; and in the twenty centuries that have elapsed since that time history has never again mentioned her name.

¹ Royal Macedonian coins. 1. Macedonian shield; in the centre, in high relief, a head of Herakles, three quarters to the left, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: BA[σιλέως]; Macedonian helmet. 2. Macedonian shield; in the centre, a gorgon's head grimacing. Reverse: BA[σιλέως]; Macedonian helmet; to the left, a caduceus.

III.—END OF THE ACHAIA LEAGUE; MACEDON AND GREECE REDUCED TO ROMAN PROVINCES.

THE Roman people had as yet taken nothing except the forty-five millions poured into the treasury by Paulus Aemilius and the tributes imposed upon Macedon, which enabled the Senate to remit henceforth the *tributum*, or war-tax,—the only one at that time paid by the citizens; but it had no need as yet to unite new territories to its empire for the purpose of extending its sway. Macedon had been seen to be the last bulwark of the world's liberty, and now that it had fallen, all rushed to meet their approaching servitude, and foremost the kings.

DRACHMA.¹BRONZE COIN.²

The Rhodians, who had wished to impose their mediation between Rome and Perseus, were now afraid of war, although they had put to death the avowed partisans of Perseus and had sent rich presents to Rome. The Senate despatched no army against them, but Lykia and Karia were definitively taken from them, and they were called allies,—whence the descent was easy to becoming subjects. They nevertheless erected in their principal temple a colossal statue to the Roman People;³ at a later period Smyrna built a temple to the city of Rome. In the island of Lesbos, Antissa was razed to the ground for having furnished provisions to the fleet of Perseus. In Asia all the cities hastened to put to death those who had been partisans of the Macedonian king.

¹ Coin of Rhodes. Head of the Sun, three quarters to the right, crowned with rays. Reverse: ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ, a magistrate's name; a full-blown rose; at the right, the letter Γ; the whole surrounded by a beading.

² Reverse of a coin of Smyrna, with the effigy of Julia Domna. ΘΕΑΚ ΡΩΜΗΚ CMYPNAION Γ ΝΕΩΚΟ ΡΩΝ'. The goddess Rome, seated to the right on a throne: she is helmeted, and leans upon a spear with her left hand; in the right she holds a little Victory extending a wreath to her. Her shield rests against the throne.

³ Polybios, xxxi. 16.

In Greece there remained no free State except the Achaian League, — it also destined soon to perish. Philopoimen had not been able seriously to believe in its permanency. "I know," he



COIN OF ANTISSA.²

often said, "that a time will come when we shall all be the subjects of Rome,¹ but I will delay it as long as I can. Aristainos, on the contrary, would anticipate it; for he sees the inevitable necessity, and he prefers to submit now rather than at some

future time." This policy of Aristainos, which Polybios calls wise,³ Kallikrates followed, but solely in the interest of his own ambition, and with a disgusting cynicism of servility.⁴

This took place several years before the Third Macedonian War. Perseus restored some hope to those who still were lovers of Greek independence, and the Achaians attempted at first to observe a strict neutrality. When, however, Marcius had forced the defiles of Olympos, Polybios hastened to offer him the assistance of an Achaian army.⁵ The offer came too late; the Romans preferred to conquer alone, that they might not be embarrassed by gratitude. Polybios himself, as has been said, was of the number of the thousand Achaians sent to live in Italy, and he would have had assigned him a residence in some obscure town, far from his books and the great affairs he loved so well to study, had not the two sons of Paulus Aemilius made themselves responsible for him to the praetor.

During the seventeen years that this exile lasted, in respect to which the Senate would never render any explanation, Kalli-

¹ Livy also represents Lykortas as saying to Appius, "I know that we are here as slaves endeavoring to excuse ourselves to our masters" (xxxix. 37).

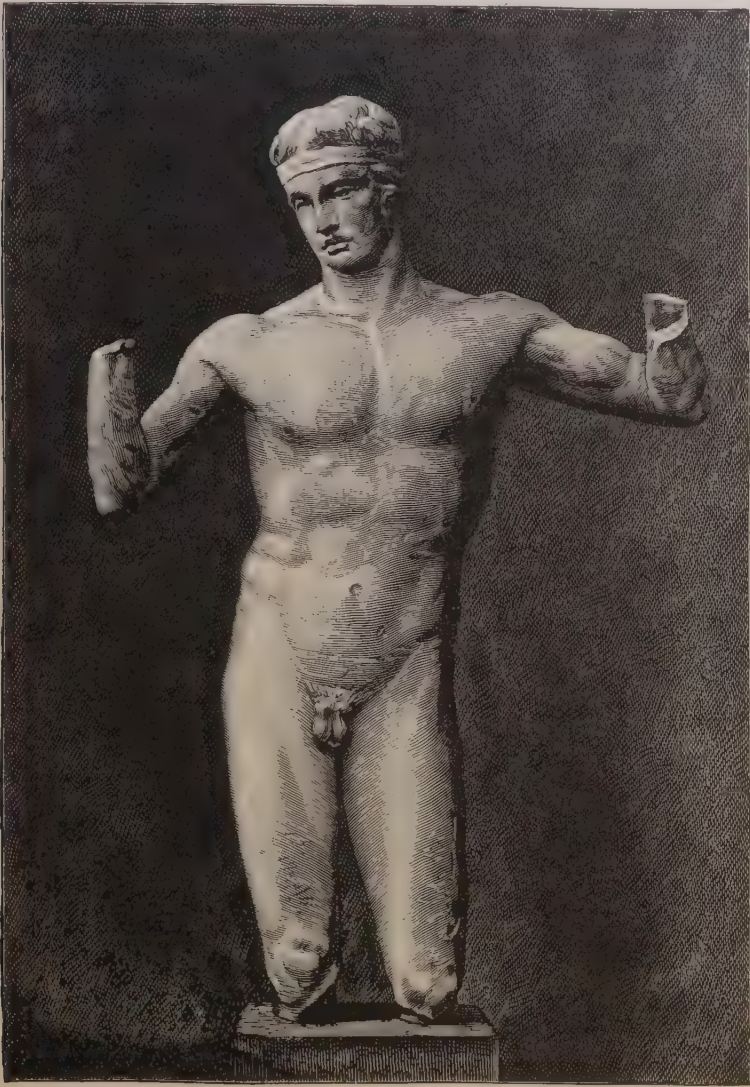
² Beardless diademed head (Arion or Sappho?), right profile. Reverse: ANTIS[σάϊων]; bearded head of the Tyrrhenian Dionysos, wearing a high tiara, right profile. In the field, an indistinct monogram.

³ Book xxv. 8. Polybios and his father, Lykortas, were, however, the leaders of the party opposed to the Romans. During the war against Perseus they narrowly escaped being accused by the Roman commissioners, and after the battle of Pydna, Polybios was sent into Italy. But seeing Greece so feeble and so divided, for two centuries covered with blood and desolation and deprived of true liberty, Polybios resigned himself to having the country calm and prosperous under that Roman sway which left to the cities so much liberty in their own affairs. We must, indeed, feel a certain confidence in the good sense and the impartiality of the friend of Philopoimen.

⁴ See above, p. 415.

⁵ Polybios, xxviii. 10 *et seq.*

krates remained at the head of the Achaian government. His administration was much more advantageous to Rome than that of a proconsul would have been. To leave to conquered countries



DIADOUMENOS OF SMYRNA.¹

or to those under Roman influence their national chiefs, to govern through native rulers as the English do in India, was one of the

¹ Figurine of terra-cotta (height, 295 millim.) discovered at Smyrna (from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, pl. lxi.). It is interesting to compare this statuette with the Diadoumenos of Vaison (Vol. II. p. 457) and the Farnese Diadoumenos, both now in the British Museum.

wisest methods employed by Roman statesmanship. Content with this semblance of freedom, with these municipal liberties that harmonize so well with political despotism, the people fell, without noise or disturbance, into a subject condition, and the Senate found them docile when the occasion came for the curb or the spur. Thus, unconsciously to herself, Greece was ready to become, like so many of the Italian cities, a possession of Rome, when, at the death of Kallikrates, Polybios, supported by Scipio Aemilianus, solicited the return of the Achaian exiles, of whom there were only three hundred left. The Senate hesitated. Cato was indignant that there should be so much deliberation about such a trifle; contempt made him humane.

TETRADRACHM.²

"The question is only," he said, "whether a few decrepit Greeks shall be buried by their own gravediggers or by ours." They were allowed to return home (150 B. C.).¹ In the case of some of these exiles; how-

ever, age had neither chilled their ardor nor appeased their resentment. Diaios, Kritolaos, and Damokreitos returned to their native land with rancor in their hearts, and by their imprudent daring precipitated her destruction.

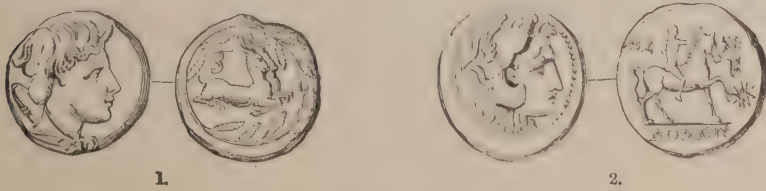
Circumstances appeared favorable, it is true. An adventurer, Andriskos by name, giving himself out to be an illegitimate son of Perseus, laid claim to his father's kingdom (152 B. C.). Repulsed by the Macedonians in a first attempt, he had taken refuge with Demetrios, the king of Syria who had given him up to the Romans. They, contrary to their custom, had kept him insecurely; he had escaped, recruited an army in Thrace, and now, claiming

¹ Polybios would have asked from the Senate the restoration of the honors and offices they had enjoyed before their exile. Cato, whom he sounded on this subject, replied: "It seems to me, Polybios, that you are not like Odysseus; having made your escape from the cave of Polyphemos, you think of returning to look for your hat and belt left behind" (Plut., *Cato*, 9).

² Diademed head of Demetrios I., king of Syria, right profile; laurel-wreath. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ; Fortune, seated to the left, on a throne; she holds a wand and a cornucopia filled with fruits; in the field, the monogram of the mint at Antioch (ANT), and that of a mint-master in the exergue; the date ΑΞΡ (= the year 161 of the Seleukid era).

to be that Philip, the adopted son of Perseus, who perished in captivity at Alba, he instigated a revolt in Macedon and occupied a part of Thessaly. Scipio Nasica drove him thence (149 B. C.); but he returned, defeated and killed the praetor Juventius, and made alliance with the Carthaginians, who were just entering on their third war with Rome. The affair began to take a serious aspect. Rome was fighting at the moment in Spain and in Africa; there was reason to fear the movement might spread throughout Greece and into Asia. A consular army was given to the praetor Metellus, who gained a new victory at Pydna and carried Andriskos a prisoner to Rome (148 B. C.).

A year had sufficed to put an end to this war, not really a very serious one, which, however, some years later (142 B. C.), a second



COINS OF MACEDON, IN GENERE.¹

impostor vainly tried to renew. The Senate, believing these States, conquered fifty years before, and since then held in a network of intrigues, to be at last ripe for servitude, now reduced Macedon to a province (146 B. C.).

The new province extended from Thrace to the Adriatic, where the two flourishing cities of Apollonia and Dyrrachium served it as seaports and connecting links with Italy. Its tax remained, as before, a hundred talents, — half as much as the Macedonian kings had received, — and this was levied by the country itself. The cities preserved their municipal liberties, and instead of the civil and the foreign wars that had so long desolated it, there was now to be, during the next four centuries, a peace and prosperity disturbed only, at rare intervals, by the exactions of some Roman proconsul.

¹ 1. Head of the youthful Pan, right profile; he is horned and has the crook on his shoulder. Reverse: two he-goats couchant, to the right; in the field a monogram, — probably that of Bottiaia; the whole in a wreath of oak-leaves. (Bronze.) 2. Beardless head of Herakles, wearing the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: MAKEΔONΩN; horseman stepping to the right, with the right hand lifted; in the field a star and the monogram of the city of Bottiaia. (Bronze.)

The army of Metellus Macedonicus was still encamped on the scene of its victories, when one of the Achaian exiles who had returned into the Peloponnesos, Diaios, was elected strategos. During his magistracy the endless quarrel between Sparta and the league, for a time pacified, broke out anew, owing to the



1. Coin of Zakynthos.



2. Coin of Same.



3. Coin of Kranioi (Kephallenia).



4. Coin of Kranioi (Kephallenia).

COINS OF THE ISLANDS OF THE CORINTHIAN GULF.¹

secret intrigues of Rome. Sparta again made an attempt to withdraw from the alliance. Immediately the Achaians took up arms; but Roman commissioners arrived, bringing a *senatus-consultum*

which detached from the league Sparta, Argos, and Orchomenos, — the first two as of Dorian race, the third as Trojan; all, consequently, foreign to the other members of the confederation. On hearing this decree, Diaios roused the population of Corinth: the Spartans found in the city were massacred, and the Roman envoys escaped the same

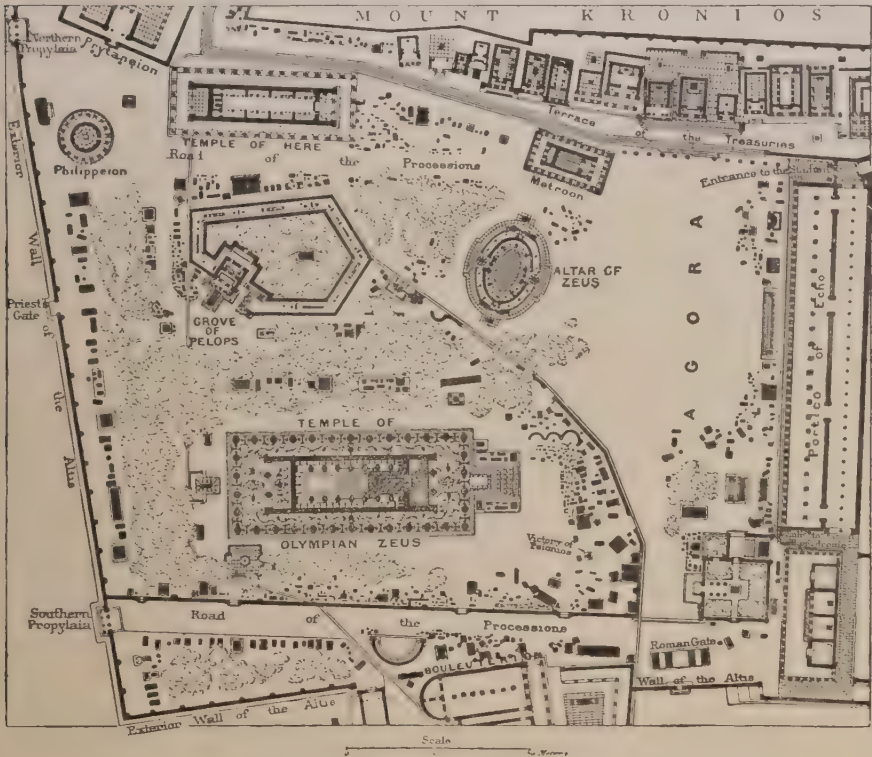
BRONZE COIN.²

fate only by a hasty flight. This people, who during forty years had trembled before Rome, recovered at last some courage from the very excess of their humiliation; they induced Chalkis and the Boiotians to share in their resentment; and when Metellus came down from

¹ 1. Head of Aphrodite, left profile. Reverse: Z; fore-part of Pegasos galloping to the left. (Silver.) 2. Head of Pallas, front face, wearing a helmet with a triple aigrette. Reverse: ΣΑΜΑΙΩΝ; ram, to the right. (Silver.) 3. Head of the Gorgon, front face. Reverse: ΚΡΑ- [νίον], among three T's, united at their base. The three T's signify tritartemoron. (Silver.) 4. Helmet to the right. Reverse: K, in an incused square. (Bronze.) The islands of Zakynthos and Kephallenia command the Gulf of Corinth.

² Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Septimius Severus. View of the Akrokorinthos, surmounted by the temple of the armed Aphrodite; at the foot of the hill, the grotto of the nymph Peirene. In the field, at the left, an olive-tree. Legend: C L I C O R (*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*).

Macedon with his legions the confederates advanced to meet him at Scarpheia in Lokris (146 B. c.). This army was cut to pieces; but by calling out every man, even the slaves, and taking the money of the rich and the women's jewels, Diaios collected a force of fourteen thousand men, and completed his preparations for defence: posted at the entrance of the isthmus of Corinth, he awaited the new consul, Mummius. On the adjacent heights the women and children had



RESTORED PLAN OF THE ALTIS (OLYMPIA).

collected in crowds to see their husbands and fathers conquer or die. They died; Corinth, abandoned by Athens, was taken without resistance; and to terrify the Greeks by a savage execution, the consul caused the men to be put to the sword, the women and children sold into slavery, and he then gave the city up to pillage and the flames.¹ Thebes, Chalkis, and the territory of the three cities were united to the public domain of the Roman people. The Achaian and the Boiotian leagues were dissolved; all the cities which had

¹ Cf. Strabo, viii. 381; Livy, *Epit.*, 52.

taken part in the struggle were dismantled, disarmed, and subjected to tribute; and the Senate then established an oligarchical government, which could be more easily controlled than a popular assembly.¹



BUST OF A ROMAN (SECOND CENTURY B. C.).²

The sacred domains, Delphi and Olympia, in Elis, retained their privileges; but the credit of these gods, who were unable to save their people, was diminished, and grass soon grew in their courts.

¹ Pausanias, vii. 16. Athens and a few other cities were not subjected to tribute.

² Marble in the Glyptothek of Munich (No. 172 of Brunn's *Description*); from the *Monuments de la Sculpture grecque et romaine* . . . , published by Brunn and Bruckmann, livr. ii., No. 10. The name of Antiochos Soter, proposed by Wolters (*Archäol. Zeitung*, 1884, pp. 157 *et seq.*) cannot be accepted.

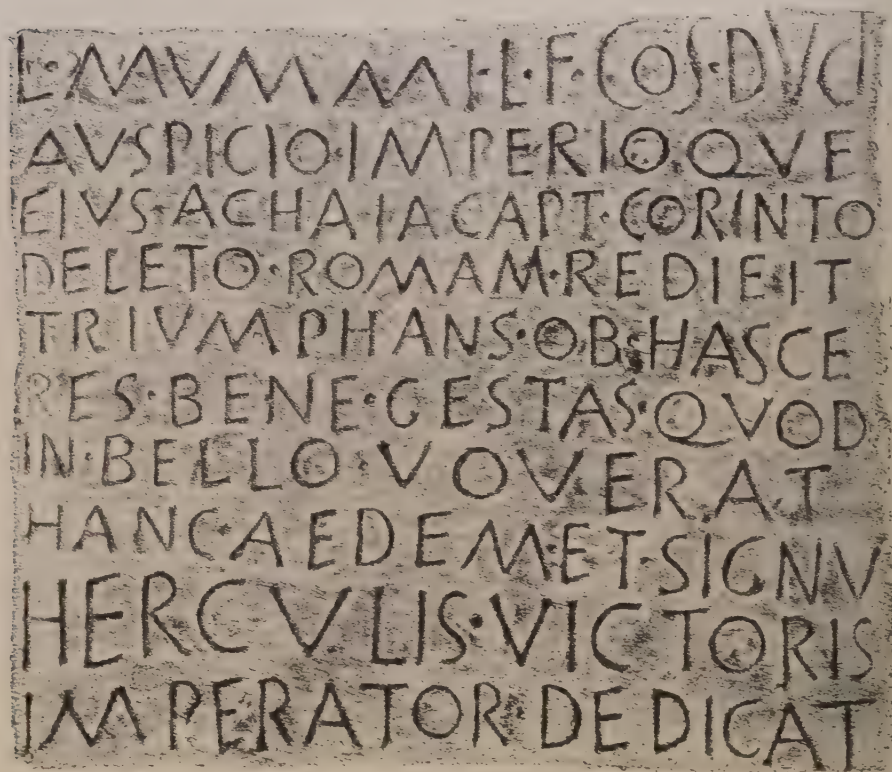
Yet another people struck from the list of nations! Thus the Greeks, by the hand of Rome, ended their national existence, and had not even the right to accuse fortune of causing their downfall. It is a hard thing to say, and especially hard for us Frenchmen, but those who are in the wrong (not to say that the victors are always in the right) are most frequently those who are conquered. If we recall the picture which has been drawn of Greece before the Romans set foot there, we shall see that this people with their own hands dug their grave. He who cannot govern himself must be governed,—he who has no foresight, be exposed to all accidents: such is the universal law. Anarchy justly made slaves of those whom, in their better days, patriotism and discipline had made strong and famous.

In fact this degenerate people did not deserve to have Rome employ so much prudence in bringing them insensibly under her sway. As if the Senate had always in mind the old deeds of Greece, and feared that if matters were in the least precipitated, some noble desperation might renew the laurels of Marathon and Plataia, a half-century had been spent in making ready to act and speak imperatively. At the close of the war with the Illyrians it had been explained to the Greeks that the legions had crossed the Adriatic for no other purpose than to deliver them from these pirates;

HERE.¹

¹ Figurine of terra-cotta discovered in the necropolis of Myrina, and now in the Louvre (No. 196 of the *Catalogue*); from *La nécropole de Myrina*, part ii. pl. xxviii. No. 2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 391. The goddess wears a high diadem, and the right arm evidently rested on a sceptre. "The type is that of many statues of the same goddess, of which the most celebrated is that of the Barberini Juno."

later, in the struggle with Macedon, the Senate had professed to fight for the sake of Greek independence. After the battle of Kynoskephalai, Flamininus had quietly transformed this friendship of the earlier days into a protectorate; and it was only after all the



INSCRIPTION ON THE TEMPLE ERECTED BY MUMMIUS TO HERCULES VICTOR.¹

strength of Macedon, of Asia, and of Africa had been destroyed that Mummius made the protectorate a domination. Even then Greece was not formally reduced to a province.² Her great name

¹ Fac-simile of the inscription on the temple of the Victorious Hercules, from Ritschl, *Priscae latinitatis monumenta epigraphica*, tab. li. A. (Cf. *Corp. inscr. Latin.*, i. 541; Wilmanns, *Exempla inscript. Latin.*, vol. i. No. 27 a). It reads thus:—

L. MUMMIUS L. F. COS.
DUCTU AVSPICIO IMPERIOQUE EIVS ACHAIA CAPTA
CORINTO DELETO [sic] ROMAM REDIEIT TRIUMPHANS.
OB HASCE RES BENE GESTAS QUOD IS IN BELLO VOVERAT
HANC AEDEM ET SIGNA HERCULIS VICTORIS
IMPERATOR DEDICAT.

² It is not certain that there were proconsuls in Achaia before the battle of Actium; but the Roman governor of Macedon was supreme over all Greece.

still impressed men's minds. Moreover, the more famous cities, notably Athens and Sparta, had remained neutral in the war upon which the Achæians had entered; and even many of the league had been lukewarm in the strife. "If we had not been quickly ruined," they said, "we could not have been saved."¹ They indicated by this that a stubborn resistance would have rendered the Romans implacable, while an easy victory had disarmed their anger. Indeed, after the first executions, the authors of the war, with their accomplices, having been punished in a manner to take away all desire of renewing it, the Greeks were treated like a conquered people whose good-will Rome desired to obtain. They did indeed lose their liberty, but they preserved its semblance, — retaining their own laws, magistrates, elections, and even their leagues, which a few years later the Senate permitted them to re-form. There was no Roman garrison in any city, no proconsul in the land. Only, in remote Macedon, a Roman governor listened to every sound, watched every movement, ready to descend upon Hellas with his cohorts, and to renew by some rigorous measure the terror that the destruction of Corinth had caused. The only right which Rome took from the Greeks was that of devastating their own country by a perpetual succession of internecine wars.

Metellus had carried off from Pella twenty-five bronze statues which had been made by Lysippos at Alexander's order, to commemorate the Macedonian guards who perished at the battle of the Granikos. These the consul placed in front of two temples which he built to Jupiter and Juno, — the first marble edifices ever erected in Rome. After the construction of these temples there remained from the consul's share of the booty enough for him to build also a magnificent portico.

Mummius was a Roman of the old school; he had preserved all the early rusticity, and took no pleasure in the refinements of Greece. In obedience to custom far more than from any taste for works of art, he removed from Corinth, before the pillage and the fire, the statues, vases,² pictures, and carvings; and all that

¹ Polybios, xl. 5, 12.

² The bronze of Corinth was famous, but we have no specimens of it. On the other hand, a great quantity of Corinthian painted vases are left to us, which were renowned throughout the whole Greek world. It is possible that Mummius carried some of these to Rome, for they were highly valued in Italy.

he could not sell to the king of Pergamon¹ he sent to Rome, where these spoils of war served to decorate the temples and public squares. For himself he kept nothing, and remained poor, so that the State was obliged to give a dowry to his daughters. He had no idea whatever that he had committed a crime in



TERRA-COTTA.²

destroying the most beautiful city of Greece after a capture made without risk, and hence without glory. He supposed himself to have accomplished a memorable exploit, and in his consular inscription, which has been discovered, are to be read these words, in which he indicates the chief honor of his consulship: *deleto Corintho*. This barbarian was quite right in erecting, after his victory, a temple to the god of brute strength, — Hercules Victor.

As to the originators of the Achaian war, one, Kritolaos, had disappeared at Skarpheia; the other, Diaios, sought, by his own hand, the death which he did not find upon the battle-field. From the isthmus he fled to Megalopolis, where he put to death his wife and children, set fire to his house, and himself took poison. In instigating an entirely hopeless struggle, these men had occasioned many woes to their country; but they fell with and for her. Devotion makes imprudence pardon-

able, and we are better satisfied that Greece should end thus on a field of battle, than in the lethargic sleep of so many others of the victims of Rome. For nations as for individuals, it is well to know how to die nobly. The Achaians, left alone amid

¹ This king offered six hundred thousand sesterces for a painting by Aristeides of Thebes, his *Dionysos* (Strabo, viii. 381; Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxv. 8).

² Figurine in the Museum of the Archæological Society of Athens, from J. Martha, *Catalogue des figurines en terre cuite du musée de la Société archéologique d'Athènes*, No. 498, p. 97, pl. viii. An ephēbos, standing, with hair puffed out around the face; on the left hand he holds a hare; a white mantle with blue border is hanging from his arms. This type of funeral monument is one most frequently found in Opountian Lokris. Cf. Martha, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–99, and x of the *Introduction*; P. Girard, *De Locris Opuntiis*, p. 96.

the general destruction of the Greek States, owed this final sacrifice to the ancient glory of Hellas.

Politically, Greece is now dead. In the Agora there will be no more stormy debates or sentences of exile against those defeated; in Peiræus no more galleys crowded with troops; in the Parthenon no more songs of victory; in the Kerameikos no more eulogies over the dead: Rome requires peace. And yet a remnant of Greek genius still lives. While it is true that the impulse given by the great men of preceding ages has become feeble and almost ceased, yet everywhere rhetoricians are discussing, grammarians are making subtle distinctions, philosophers are disputing, and it is to Athens that the most illustrious Romans come to complete or to correct their education: one of them, a friend of Cicero, thence takes the name of Atticus. Pergamon founds a new school of sculpture; Rhodes claims to teach the secrets of eloquence; Alexandria is a workshop where poetry is made; and the cities of the Asiatic coast are filled with artisans who, for so much ready money, make copies of all the consecrated masterpieces to decorate the villas of the proconsuls. By the science, the art, and the philosophy of the earlier time Greece is about to conquer the West, on which in the days of her power her genius left absolutely no impress; and it is there that she reigns forever.

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit.

But this second life of Greece, this action upon Rome, belong to the history of the new capital of the world. There it has already been related, and to those pages the reader is referred.¹

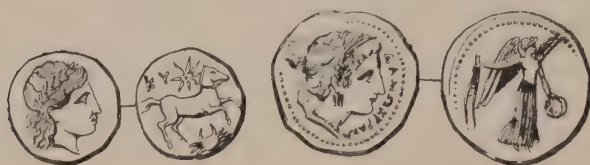
¹ See *History of Rome*, chapter xxxv., "Hellenism at Rome."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

SICILY.

I.—END OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE ITALIOT GREEKS; THE ELDER DIONYSIOS.

HELLENISM, carried by Alexander to Babylon, by the Seleukid kings to Syria, by the Ptolemies into their new capital, quickly smothered the ancient civilizations of the valleys of the Euphrates and Nile. Thanks to this Greek influence, however, Asia Minor and Egypt were soon covered with new cities, or those of ancient date were exhumed from their ruins, some of them taking their place among the most celebrated in the world,—as Smyrna, Ephesos, Miletos, Seleukia, Antioch, Pergamon, and Alexandria. The Greeks here continued, in art and science, as disciples of the old masters, the work of the mother-country; but they did not create a



COINS OF KYRENE.¹

new Hellas. Commerce, industry, luxury, and especially effeminacy and pleasure, prevailed in these cities; but during two or three hundred years nothing strong or renowned came from them, except in geography, mathematics, and astronomy;² and all this

¹ 1. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: KY; bridled horse, galloping to the right; in the field, a star and a crab. (Bronze.) 2. Diademed head of Artemis, right profile, with the quiver on her shoulder. Legend: ΔΑΜΩ (first letters of a magistrate's name) and KYPA[ναίων]. Reverse: a Victory flying to the right; she holds a wreath in the left hand, and fillets floating from the right. (Bronze.)

² Strabo and his great work on geography, Archimedes, Apollonios of Perga, and Euclid, whose *Elements* are still used as a text-book in geometry; Eratosthenes, who measured the earth; Aristarchos, who understood its revolution around the sun; Hipparchos, the greatest of ancient astronomers, etc.

prosperity, of which Rome later became the heir, was not worth to the world a few days of Athenian life in the time of Perikles.¹

Nor is anything more to be said of the Greeks of Kyrene, of Marseilles (Massalia), of the Pontic shore of the Bosporos, whose life lay outside the great Hellenic current; although at Kyrene may yet be seen remains of Hellenic architecture, and the treasures, vases, and jewels discovered in the ancient kingdom of the Bosporos² show that in these remote regions Greek life shone with



1.

2.

3.

COINS OF MARSEILLES.³

great brilliancy. Neither do the Greeks of Italy require any special attention. We have seen that many colonies from Chalkis, Megara, and even Sparta⁴ established themselves here; but their obscure history is closely blended with that of the native inhabitants, and their fall under the hand of Rome was coincident with that of the Italiot populations of this region. The expedition of Alexander the Molossian into Lucania (326 B. C.), and that of Pyrrhos, who failed to gain in Italy his battle of Arbela, have been briefly noted.⁵ Scarcely had the defeated king quitted Tarentum when the Romans entered it (272 B. C.); Brundisium was occupied; Cumæ had long been under the power of Rome; and Rhegium had received a garrison of legionaries. All Magna Græcia, therefore, together with

¹ See above, p. 210.

² Some of these jewels are represented in this work, Vol. II. pp. 128, 177, 589, and in the *History of Rome*, ii. 663, iii. 118, 120, 148, iv. 23, vii. 241. The vase of gilded silver which makes the frontispiece of this volume (Section II.) was found in the tomb of a Scythian king.

³ 1. ΛΑΚΥΔΩΝ; youthful head, the forehead horned, of the Genius of the Lakydōn (the port of Marseilles). Reverse: a wheel with four spokes. (Silver.) 2. Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile; behind, an amphora. Reverse: ΜΑΣΣΑΛΙΗΤΩΝ; a bull, threatening with his horns, to the right; in the field, an amphora. (Bronze.) 3. Bust of Artemis, right profile, diademed and carrying on her shoulder the bow and quiver. Reverse: ΜΑΣΣΑΛΙΗΤΩΝ; lion to the right; in the field, two mint-marks. (Silver.)

⁴ See, in this work, Vol. II. pp. 140–153, and 294–296; and in the *History of Rome*, vol. i. *passim*.

⁵ See above, p. 310, and *History of Rome*, vol. i. chapter xvi.

the rest of peninsular Italy, was at the feet of the Senate. From Brundisium the Romans kept watch upon Greece, whither the piracies of the Illyrians soon were to call their consuls; and from Rhegium they beheld, across the strait of Messina, the fruitful island (Sikelia) whose possession would give them the control of the Mediterranean.

But there lay Syracuse (Syrakousai), a powerful city; and we must not pass unnoticed the savage grandeur and the gloomy figures

of the elder and the younger Dionysios and of Agathokles. These tyrants manifested all the energy of the Hellenic race, — in this case, how-



1. COINS OF PANTIKAPAION.¹ 2.

ever, for evil. A brief summary of their history will be given, although it can scarcely be regarded as connected with that of Greece Proper.

The disastrous issue of the Athenian expedition into Sicily had set the seal to the power of Syracuse.² This victory had still another effect: as at Athens after the battle of Salamis, the people now desired a more democratic form of government. A constitution of a democratic nature was prepared by Diokles; but we have no exact information concerning it.³ The fact that this constitution substituted for election designation by lot to civil offices, shows its popular character. According to Diodoros, Diokles was much occupied with civic laws, and was able skilfully to proportion the penalty to the crime. His death, if we knew no more of him than that, would entitle him to lasting honors. In order to place the popular assemblies beyond all danger of military violence, he forbade the citizens,

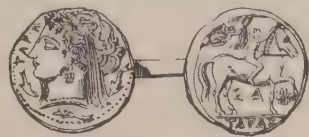
¹ 1. Head of bearded Pan, left profile; he is horned and wears a wreath of ivy-leaves. Reverse: ΠΑΝ[τακαπαίων]; griffin to the left, with lifted paw, holding a javelin in his mouth; under his feet, an ear of wheat, emblem of the commerce of Pantikapaion; in the field, a monogram of a magistrate's name. (Gold.) 2. Head of Pan, to the left, three quarters front, having little horns and horse's ears. Reverse: ΠΑΝ; bull's head to the left. (Silver.) Coins of Pantikapaion, capital of the kingdom of the Bosphoros.

² Diodoros and Justin are the principal authorities here. Diodoros, having had the opportunity to examine, not only the works of Ephoros and Timaios, but those of Philistos, the friend of Dionysios, deserves for this period more confidence than we usually can give him.

³ Aristotle (*Politics*, v. 3, 6) says that it was democratic in character: ὁ δῆμος . . . ἐκ πολιτείας εἰς δημοκρατίαν μετέβαλεν.

under pain of death, to attend them wearing arms. On one occasion, having just returned from some campaign, he heard a tumult in the assembly and hastened thither to appease it, unmindful of the fact that he was still wearing his sword. His enemies upon this reproached him with violating his own law. "Not so," he rejoined, "I enforce it;" and he plunged the weapon into his heart. The Syracusans built a temple in his honor, and most of the Sicilian cities adopted his laws. In another part of his work, however, Diodoros¹ attributes this act to Charondas, which leads us to suppose that it is not authentic as to either.

The triumph of the popular party was complete in 407 B. C., when the leader of the opposite faction, Hermokrates, who had been exiled on account of the disaster of Kyzikos, perished in one of his attempts to return to his native land.² But from the rule of demagogues was soon to follow its too frequent result, — tyranny, — occasion arising from the dangers into which a new and frightful war plunged Syracuse.



COIN OF TARENTUM.³

Sicily was like a ship equally laden at prow and stern. On its eastern shore Syracuse was extremely important, and Carthage had set foot on the western coast. Commerce gave the two cities rival interests; and when they extended their sway into the interior, they came into violent collision. The great battle of Himera, in 480 B. C.,⁴ will be remembered, when Carthage sought to do in Sicily what Xerxes had attempted in Greece. Rendered cautious after the battle of Salamis by the naval power of Athens, the Carthaginians had made no attempt for seventy years to increase their possessions in Sicily. The disaster of Nikias restored their confidence, and in 410 B. C. they responded to the appeal of Segesta. The assistance of the Athenians had not been of service to this people, and they greatly feared the vengeance of Syracuse and of Selinous, a powerful Greek city of the southern coast, whose territory extended northward to that of Segesta. Hannibal, the grand-

¹ xii. 19.

² See Vol. III. p. 347.

³ Woman's head, surrounded by three dolphins and the legend TAPA. On the reverse, a youth on horseback, crowned by a Victory. (Gold stater of Tarentum; the Greek name of the city, TAPAΣ, is on the exergue of the reverse.)

⁴ Vol. II. p. 300.

son of that Hamilcar who had been conquered and killed by Gelon at Himera, landed in the island with a few mercenaries. In order to take away from the Syracusans all pretext for displeasure, he began by proposing that they should arbitrate between Segesta and Selinous; but he at the same time took possession of the former city, and the following year surrounded the latter with an army numbering, according to some authorities, not less than two hundred thousand men. Notwithstanding a desperate resistance, the besiegers

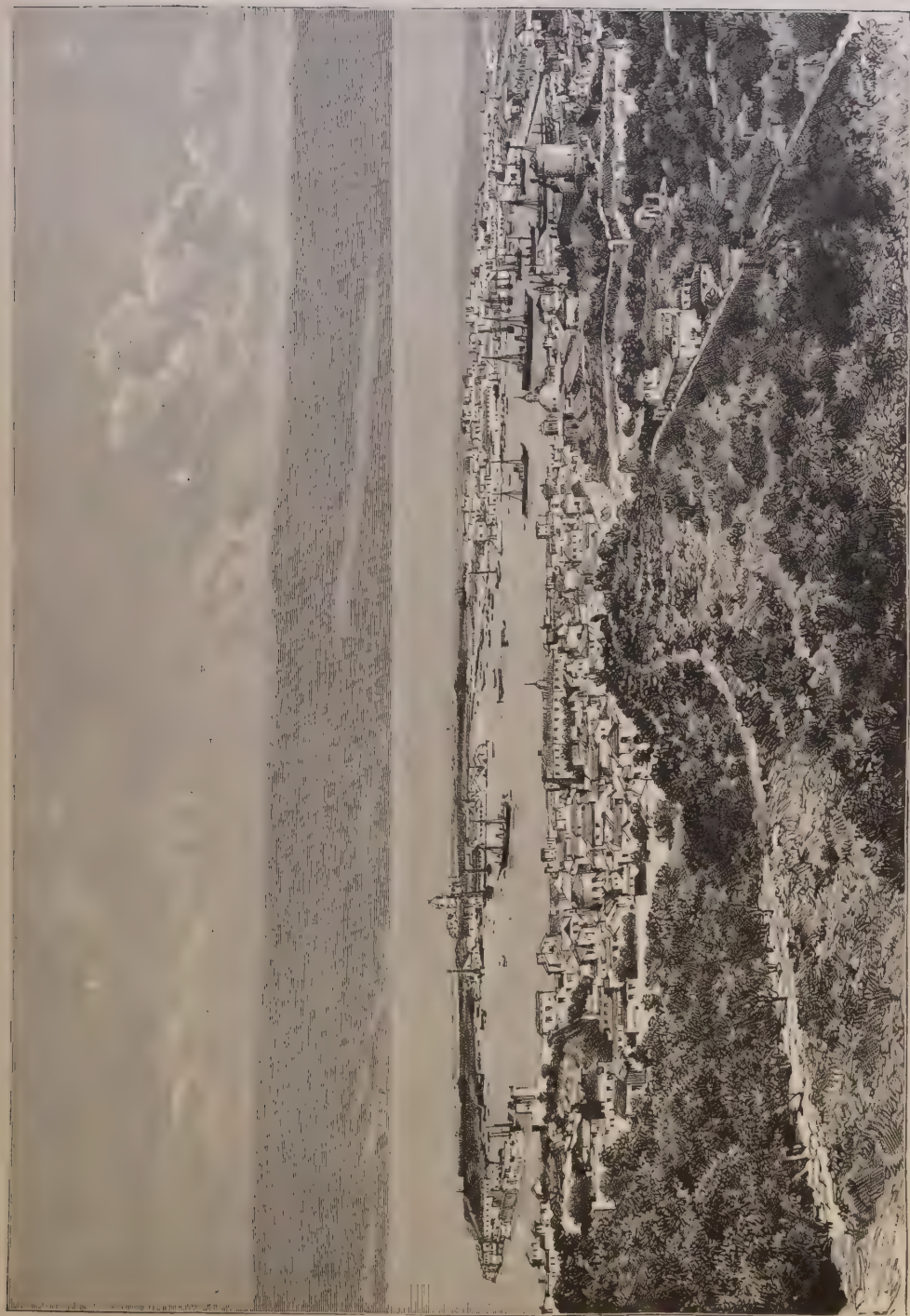
BRONZE COIN.¹COIN OF SEGESTA.²

were able to break down the walls, and a detachment of Iberians effected an entrance; all the inhabitants were slain, and Hannibal then razed the city to the ground. The war thus at once assumed the character of atrocity which marked its whole course. Having struck this blow on the south, Hannibal now proceeded to strike another on the north, that he might extend the Carthaginian sway equally on both shores of the island. He besieged Himera and took it, notwithstanding the brave defence of the inhabitants, most of whom were able to make their escape before the final assault. He found, however, three thousand men within the walls, whom he rescued from the hands of the soldiers, but only that he might lead them to the place where his grandfather, Hamilcar, had been killed, and there butcher them after frightful tortures. In the

¹ Coin of Adranon. Head of Sicily (Sikelia), left profile, with a myrtle-wreath on the hair. Reverse: a lyre. This coin, of uncertain origin, was perhaps struck upon a coin of Syracuse (*Catalogue of the British Museum, Sicily*, p. 4).

² ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΟΝ; head of Segesta, diademed, right profile. Reverse: ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΑ; a dog, to the right; behind, three wheat-ears. (Silver.) [The name is always written by the Attic and other contemporary Greek writers "Egesta;" and it has been frequently asserted that it was changed by the Romans to Segesta, for the purpose of avoiding the ill-omen of the word Egesta in Latin. See *Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, p. 948. — ED.]

NOTE.—The view represented on the opposite page is from a photograph taken from the higher part of the city of Messina, and includes the harbor, the strait, and the opposite coast of southern Italy.



THE STRAIT OF MESSINA.

city he left not one stone upon another, and the ruins made by him may still be seen (409 B. C.).

Encouraged by these successes, Carthage resolved to give still greater proportions to the struggle; but she was not able again to gather a strong army until she had levied mercenaries in Spain, in the Balearic Islands, in Mauretania and Numidia, in Campania.



RUINS OF THE THEATRE OF SEGESTA.¹

and, in short, wherever this traffic in courage was carried on. Hannibal and Himilcon were placed at their head. On the other side, Syracuse sought aid from the Greeks of Italy and of the Peloponnesos, and strove to bring the Sicilians to share in her cause.

The fall of Selinous had exposed Agrigentum to attack. The Carthaginians, with a hundred and twenty thousand men, advanced

¹ From a photograph. The theatre is of the Greek epoch. It faces towards the north, and the spectators had a view of the sea.

upon this city,¹ one of the richest in the Greek world, but also one of the most effeminate. Its vineyards and olive-groves furnished material for an extensive commerce; its manufacture of vases rivalled that of Athens; and its two hundred thousand inhabitants, its public buildings, its temple of Olympian Zeus, the largest in Sicily, its artificial lake, 4,247 feet in circumference (where flocks of swans were kept), and the garments of gold and silver worn by the principal citizens, attested its wealth. But in ancient times

COINS OF CARTHAGE.²

effeminacy followed close upon wealth. In Agrigentum habits of military discipline—the only protection of these cities so constantly endangered—were now lost. The city was therefore obliged to engage mercenaries, and the Spartan Dexippos, with the Campanians who had served Carthage in the preceding war, took service with it.

The siege had numerous vicissitudes. Hannibal had demolished the tombs to procure materials for immense mounds, and the pestilence which broke out in his army, to which he himself fell a victim, seemed an expression of divine displeasure. Himilcon, his successor,

¹ It is impossible to certify to the accuracy of this statement or of those that follow. It is the custom of historians to exaggerate enormously the number of men composing the ancient armies, without ever considering how it would be possible to feed such numbers.

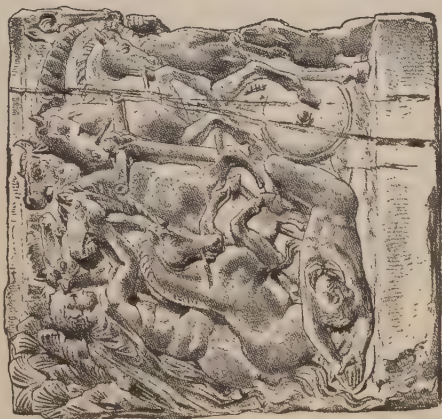
² 1. Head of Demeter, with a wreath of wheat-ears, right profile; she wears a broad necklace: in front, two dolphins; behind, the symbol of the Punic triad. Reverse: a horse, in front of a palm-tree; beneath, a flower, and in the field a star. (Silver.) 2. Head of Demeter, with a wreath of wheat-ears, left profile. Reverse: a horse, to the right; above, the solar globe; in the field, the Phœnician letter *ain*. (Bronze.)

NOTE.—From photographs. The sarcophagus is in the Museum of Girgenti.

I. Front. Hippolytos, surrounded by his companions and his hunting-dogs, is indifferent to the messages of Phaidra.

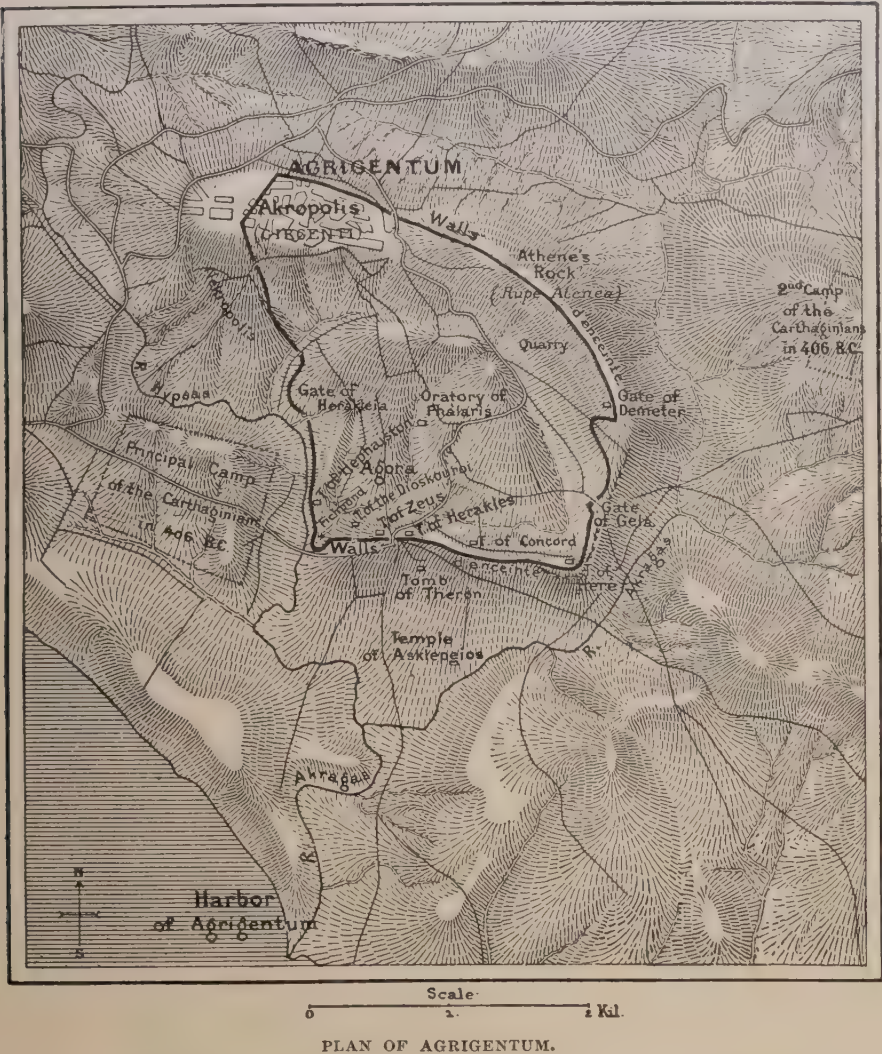
II. Right end. Phaidra, seated among her women, is dying of love.

III. Death of Hippolytos.



SARCOPHAGUS OF AGRIGENTUM, — PHAIDRA AND HIPPOLYTOS.

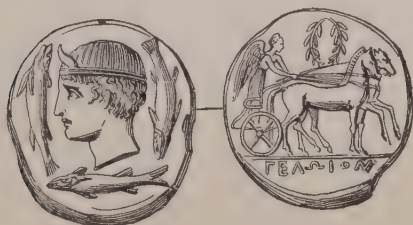
sacrificed a boy to Kronos, by way of expiation, and threw into the sea several animals as an offering to Poseidon. Notwithstanding this, a corps of forty thousand Iberians and Campanians were defeated completely by the Syracusan Daphneios. The Agrigentines



were already anticipating a successful issue to the struggle, and although they were beginning to suffer from want, looked forward to the arrival of a large convoy of wheat. But the convoy fell into the enemy's hands, and at the same time Himilcon induced their mercenaries to abandon them. There was nothing left for the inhab-

itants but to await death in their city, or to escape as the people of Himera had done. They fled to Gela by night; Agrigentum was sacked, and of so much wealth nothing was left but ruins (406 B. C.).

This event struck terror in Syracuse. An assembly was called together, but no one dared to offer a suggestion. Then appeared

SILVER COIN.¹

Dionysios, a man of obscure origin, the son of an ass-driver, and himself a clerk in a public office. He had joined the party of Hermokrates, who, having been banished from Syracuse, had repeatedly attempted to return in arms, and he had attracted attention by numer-

ous displays of courage. His resolution and his daring had made him influential, and when he stood up and accused of treason the generals who had been sent to the aid of Agrigentum, his words caused such an excitement that the magistrates punished him for disturbing the public peace. His friend, the rich Philistos, at once paid the fine, and declared that if Dionysios should be again fined he would again pay for him. Dionysios therefore continued his harangue, and the people, forthwith proceeding to a new election, placed him in the number of the generals.

BRONZE COIN.²

Thus he becomes colleague of the men to whom he has imputed the crime of accepting bribes from the Carthaginians. Being sent to succor Gela, he finds the rich in hostility to the people, upon which he accuses them in the assembly, causes them to be condemned and despoiled of their property, and distributes it among his soldiers. Having thus made himself popular in the army, he returns to Syracuse. He addresses the people as they come out of the theatre. "Your most dangerous enemies," he says to them, "are not the Carthaginians, they are your magistrates, who amuse you with costly festivals while your soldiers

¹ Coin of Gela. Head of the river Gela, horned and diademed; around, three fishes. Reverse: ΓΕΛΑΙΩΝ; Victory in a biga, the horses stepping to the right; above, a laurel-wreath.

² Reverse of a coin of Syracuse, of which the face is represented, Vol. III. p. 347. ΣΥΡΑΚΟΙΩΝ; free horse galloping to the left.

are in want of everything." And recurring to his accusation of his colleagues, he continues: "Take back the command that you intrusted to me; it is useless for me to go and expose my life in the presence of the enemy when others sell the city, and I incur the danger even of being regarded as an accomplice in their treason." The people responded promptly to his appeal, his colleagues were immediately deposed, and he himself appointed sole general with full powers. Later he imitated the artifice of Peisistratos, feigning to believe his life in danger, and caused himself to be attended by a guard of six hundred men, which he soon increased to a thousand, selected from the poorest and most desperate of the populace, to whom he gave splendid clothing and the wildest hopes for the future. This took place at Leontini, a city where the exiles had taken refuge, and to which he had conducted the troops. He

then returned to Syracuse and established himself in the island of Ortygia, where all the arsenals were,—a position also commanding the great harbor. The blind multitude had given themselves a tyrant; but it was a crowd of poor men, who cared little for public liberties, and had no thought of the fatal consequences of the tyranny they had established.

Meanwhile Gela, besieged, called for aid; this was still another step in the Carthaginian advance along the southern shore of the island. Dionysios hastened thither, after having induced the people to condemn to death Daplineios and Demarchos, the two leaders of the aristocracy. Being defeated in an engagement, he relinquished the attempt to defend Gela, and abandoned it to the



MAP OF ORTYGIA.

Carthaginians, after having withdrawn all the population. Kamarina, in its turn, yielded. The enemy was now within fifty miles of Syracuse, and the city was crowded with terrified fugitives who clamored loudly against Dionysios. The Syracusan cavalry mutinied, and preceding him into the city, pillaged his house, causing the death of his wife by their rough treatment. The tyrant, however, followed them closely, and revenged himself by a general massacre of his adversaries.

Meanwhile, a pestilence having caused great mortality in the invading army, the Carthaginians were willing to listen to propositions of peace. A treaty confirmed them in the possession of



COINS OF KAMARINA.¹

the territory of Selinous, Agrigentum, and Himera. The inhabitants of Gela and Kamarina were permitted to return to their dismantled cities, on condition of paying a tribute to the Carthaginians; and Dionysios, who from the beginning of the siege of Gela had probably had an understanding with them, was recognized as tyrant of Syracuse (405 B. C.). Lysandros at the same date captured the Athenian fleet at Aigospotamoi, — a victory which was followed by the establishment of Lacedæmonian governors in all the cities. Athens also was soon to fall into his power. At that evil date liberty had ceased in the Hellenic world.

To consolidate his power, by increasing the number of those dependent upon him, Dionysios made a new division of lands; the most valuable territory was given to his friends and officers, and the remainder divided in equal shares among all the other inhabitants, slaves and foreigners included. He fortified

¹ 1. Youthful head of Herakles, wearing the lion's skin, left profile; before him, a bow. Reverse: KAMAPINA; Pallas in a quadriga, the horses galloping to the right; a Victory flies towards her above the horses, carrying a wreath; in the exergue, two amphorae. (Silver.) 2. Head of the river Hipparis, front face, between two fishes; under the neck, EYAI, signature of the artist-engraver, Evainetos. Reverse: KAMAPINA; the nymph Kamarina riding on a swan, which swims to the right; a fish behind her, and another beneath. (Silver.)

the island of Ortygia, which was joined to the city by a mole, but which he now separated from it by a wall. This was his citadel; he removed from it all the former inhabitants, and filled their place with his mercenaries.¹ It was a wise precaution, although he had, so to speak, given a new population to Syracuse. A silent displeasure brooded in many hearts, excited by the execution or the banishment of numerous citizens, and, for those who were left in the city, the insupportable burden of taxes, which amounted to twenty per cent annually upon all kinds of property.² Accordingly, during an expedition undertaken by Dionysios against the Sikeloi of the interior, a revolt broke out, and he was obliged to hasten to his refuge in Ortygia, whose fortifications, fiercely attacked, appeared at one time insufficient to protect him. Fearing that he might be captured,

COIN OF AITNE.³

he discussed with his friends the question of death or flight. "It is better either to conquer or to die here," one of them said to him; "your royal mantle must be your shroud." He feigned a willingness to negotiate; and when he had escaped with five vessels, his assailants, like any popular army which believes its work completed, dispersed. But Dionysios had secured the aid of twelve hundred Campanians left by the Carthaginians in their new territory. These mercenaries, with some other troops, fell upon Syracuse, now reposing in complete security. A sortie of the garrison of Ortygia ended by dispersing the revolters, of whom seven thousand took refuge in Aitne, and Dionysios remained master of the city (403 B. C.). An alliance with Sparta, and the sending of Lysandros to him from that city as counsellor, consolidated his power. He had the wisdom not to sully it this time by acts of

¹ The same measure was taken by Marcellus when he was master of Syracuse; only the Romans were allowed to live in Ortygia (Cicero, *In Verrem*, v. 32, 34, 38, 98). In all details concerning Dionysios our authority is Diodoros.

² This, at least, is what Aristotle says, *Politics*, v. 9, 4.

³ AITNAION; head of Silenos, with a wreath of ivy, right profile; beneath, a scarabæus. Reverse: Zeus, seated on a richly carved throne; he wears an ample peplos, has the right hand lifted, probably holding a sceptre, and in the left hand has a winged thunderbolt; before him, an eagle is perched on the top of a pine-tree. (Tetradrachm of the Lucien de Hirsch collection.)

vengeance. But a few days later, when the inhabitants were scattered through the fields harvesting, he caused all the houses to be visited, and weapons removed wherever found. A second wall rendered the island of Ortygia impregnable, and numerous

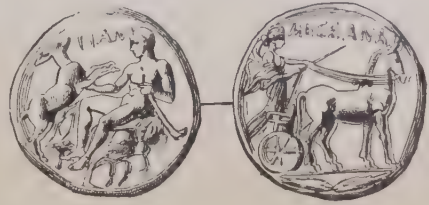


RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS, IN THE ISLAND OF ORTYGIA.¹

mercenaries, called in from all quarters, increased at the same time the strength of Dionysios against the Syracusans, and of Syracuse against its enemies. Finally, minute precautions rendered him safe from assassins, but not from fear, suspicion, and sudden alarms.

¹ From a photograph. The church of Santa Maria delle Colonne is built upon the ruins of a Greek temple, and on the side may be seen the Doric columns with their capitals.

For so many expenses there was need of money. Dionysios sought to obtain it by war. He seized the city of Aitne, the refuge of the Syracusan exiles, brought over to his side the inhabitants of Enna, a town in the interior, and bought of traitors Katana and Naxos, which he destroyed, after having sold the population. He gave the territory of Naxos to the Sikeloi of the neighborhood, that of Katana to his Campanian mercenaries, and compelled the people of Leontini to emigrate to Syracuse (400 B. C.). The inhabitants of Rhegion, alarmed at seeing Dionysios advance so near their strait, sent over a force to Messina to anticipate him.

TETRADRACHM OF MESSINA.¹

1.

COINS OF KATANA.²

2.

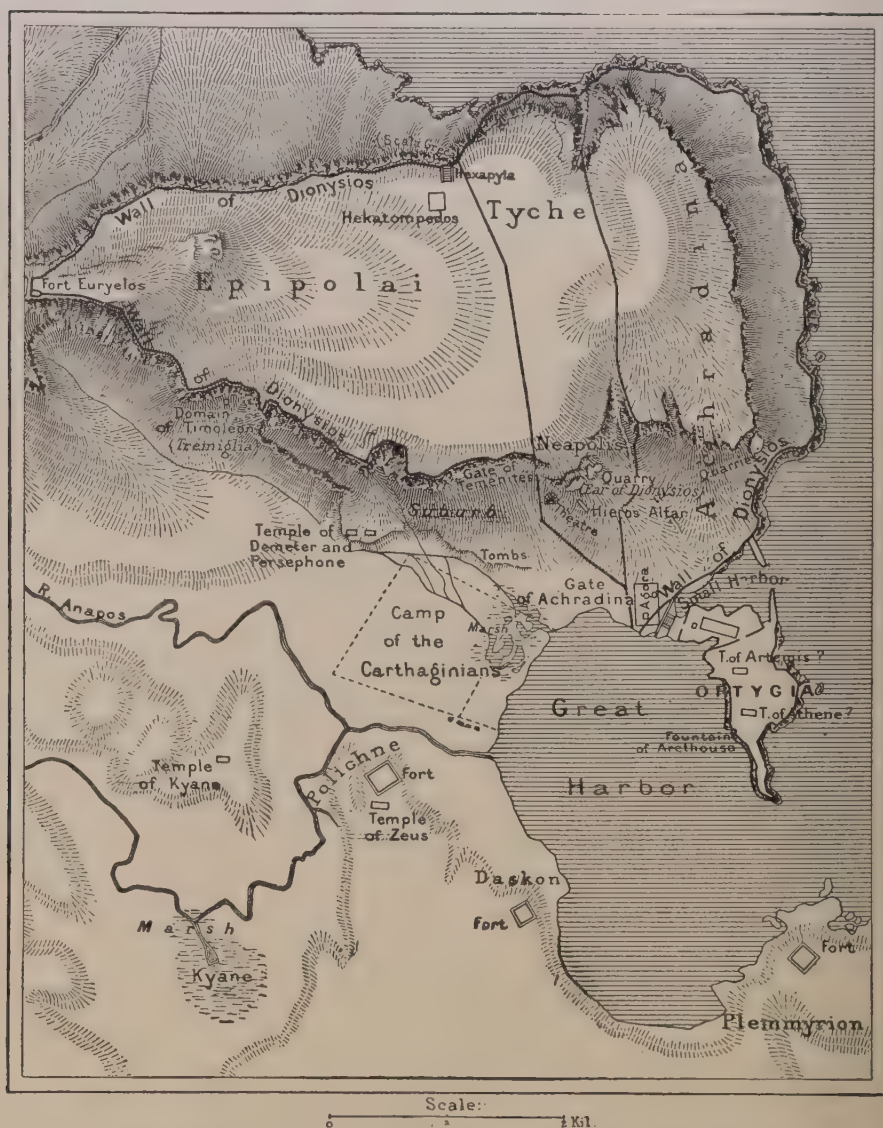
A mutiny which broke out in this band caused the failure of the enterprise, and Dionysios had thus a pretext for invading Magna Græcia at a later period.

Dionysios was a tyrant, but he was also a man of great energy. His dominant aim, after his own interests, was the abasement of Carthage and the grandeur of Syracuse. All his acts had reference to this aim. After having made his power secure on the eastern shore, he resolved to extend it westward and drive back the Carthaginians, who in four years had advanced from the west-

¹ ΠΑΝ. Pan, nude, beardless, and horned, is seated to the left on a rock, on which he has placed his fawn's skin; in his left hand he holds the *lagobolon*, and with the right caresses a hare, which leaps up to him. Reverse: ΜΕΣΣΑΝΑ · Messana, a goad in her hand, standing in a cart drawn by two mules stepping to the right; in the exergue, two fishes.

² ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ; laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: a woman driving a biga, the horses stepping to the right. (Silver.) 2. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ; head of Apollo, front face, wearing a wreath of laurel; in the field, a lyre, a bow, and the plectrum. Reverse: ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ; woman driving a quadriga at a gallop to the right; the horses are about to turn round the *meta*, and a Victory, flying above them, extends a wreath to the goddess; in the exergue, a rock-lobster. (Silver.)

ern point of the island to the confines of the Syracusan territory. For this decisive struggle it was important to place Syracuse beyond danger in case of a defeat. He increased the strength of its



PLAN OF SYRACUSE, SHOWING THE DEFENSIVE WORKS OF DIONYSIOS.

walls, and surrounded by a rampart the heights of Òipolai, which commanded the city, so that it should be impossible to enclose it with hostile lines, as had very nearly been done in the Athenian expedition. Sixty thousand laborers, taken from the free popula-

tion of the country, were employed in the work. At the distance of a stadion apart, superintendents directed the laborers, and six thousand yoke of oxen transported the materials. Dionysios himself was constantly present, shared in the fatigue, and excited emulation by rewards. The zeal was so great that in twenty days this wall was completed, three miles in length, of hewn stone, flanked by strong towers, and high enough to be secure from assault.¹ He then collected a prodigious quantity of weapons and military engines, among them one of a new kind, the catapult, which threw stones and darts. For the navy he obtained ship-timber from Mount Etna, repaired the old galleys, and built new on a model of much greater strength than had hitherto been in use.

COIN OF SELINOS.²

1.

2.

COINS OF THERMAI (HIMERA).³

The Athenian fleet consisted of triremes only, whose chief value lay in their speed, the ease with which they could be manœuvred, and their powerful rams, whose repeated blows shattered the enemy's vessels. Dionysios now built galleys with four and five banks of oars, heavier, but stronger; and his fleet consisted of more than three hundred war-vessels, for which he established a hundred and sixty

¹ Remains may still be seen of the fort on the Euryalos, the highest point of the Epipolai. Cf. Saverio Cavallari, *Zur Topographie von Syrakus*, p. 21 (Göttingen, 1845).

² [ΣΕΛΑΙΝ]ΟΝΤΙ[ΟΝ]; the river Selinous, standing, holding a patera and a laurel-wreath; he is about to sacrifice on an altar before which stands a cock; behind him, on a pedestal, is the ox about to be sacrificed, and the leaf of parsley, the emblem of the city's name. Reverse: Apollo and Artemis in a biga, the horses stepping to the left; Apollo draws his bow, and Artemis is driving. (Silver.)

³ 1. ΘΕΡΜΙΤΑΝ; head of Here, right profile, wearing a high *stephane* ornamented with swans; behind a dolphin. Reverse: the youthful Herakles, nude, seated to the left on a rock, holding his club; in the field, the bow and quiver. (Silver.) 2. Head of the Genius of the river, horned and crowned with reeds, left profile. Reverse: ΘΕΡΜΙΤΑΝ; only traces of this legend are seen,—the horned Pan dancing, three *hermai* behind him. (Bronze. The origin of this coin is uncertain.)

slips, of which each could hold two vessels. Sparta, friendly towards any tyranny, had given him permission to enroll in the Peloponnesos, and even in Lakonia, as many mercenaries as he wished.

His preparations being completed, Dionysios proposed in the assembly of the people to declare war against Carthage; and soon after, with eighty thousand men, he recaptured Gela, Agrigentum, Kamarina, Selinous, and Himera, and advanced to attack the principal fortress of the Carthaginians in the island of Motye, at the western point of Sicily (396 B. C.). It was a memorable siege. The Carthaginians defended themselves with all the obstinacy of the Punic race; but the new weapons employed by Dionysios finally got the better of their courage. Himilcon, however, arrived with a hundred thousand men and a large fleet (395 B. C.). He recovered Motye without difficulty, and skilfully carrying the war eastward, he destroyed Messina and gained a naval battle which brought him into the harbor of Syracuse. He



italian ordnance map.

PLAN OF THE ISLAND OF MOTYE.

set up his tent in the temple of the Olympian Zeus, and fortified his camp with stones obtained from tombs. The Greeks attributed to these acts of sacrilege the malarial fevers which, in the autumn, are caused by the marshes surrounding Syracuse on the west. The mortality was so great¹ that the army, in its terror, abandoned

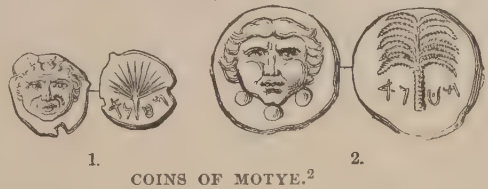
¹ Diodoros, who is reckless as to figures, says one hundred and fifty thousand (πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας).

all discipline and vigilance. Dionysios took advantage of this to make a double attack by land and sea, on a moonless night. Part



CARTHAGINIAN COINS AT PANORMOS.¹

of the hostile fleet was burned, and the few serviceable troops that the Carthaginians had were defeated and driven back into their camp, where death awaited them as surely as by the sword of the Syracusans. Himilcon sent secretly to ask at what price he would be permitted to withdraw with the Carthaginians of his army, and he paid for this disgrace three hundred talents; but he redeemed it by his death. Returning to Carthage, he accused himself of the disaster, offered prayers in all



COINS OF MOTYA.²

¹ 1. ΣC (*Sis*, perhaps the Punic name of the city); head of a nymph, right profile, the hair knotted upon the neck; in the field, three dolphins. Reverse: dog to the right; in the field, a nymph's head. (Silver.) 2. $\Pi\text{ANOPMO}\Sigma$, the Genius of the city nude, seated on the river, represented under the form of a human-headed bull, leaping to the right. Reverse. ΣC (*Sis*). Poseidon seated to the right, holding his trident, in the field a dolphin. (Silver.) 3. $\Pi\text{ANOPMITIKON}$, in retrograde legend; a nymph's head, right profile, the hair in a *sphendone*, behind the triquetra, the emblem of Sicily. Reverse. a dog to the right, with reverted head; in the field a murex. (Silver.) 4. ΣC (*Sis*), a cock to the right. Reverse: six globules, the mark of the hemilitron. (Bronze.) 5. Diademed head of Persephone, left profile, surrounded by dolphins. Reverse: a man standing in a quadriga, the horses galloping to the right, and a Victory flying towards him, extending a wreath. In the exergue a hippo-camp and the word ΣC (*Sis*). (Silver.)

² 1. Gorgon's head, front face. Reverse: MOTYA (*Motya*), in Punic; legend a palm-leaf. (Silver.) 2. Head of Gorgon, front face; underneath, three globules, mark of the *quadrans*. Reverse: MOTYA (*Motya*) in Punic legend; palm-tree (Bronze.)

the temples of the city, then, walling up the doors of his house, starved himself to death (394 B. C.).

While Himilcon fled, the mercenaries, betrayed by their general, were surrounded and made prisoners or massacred. Instead of pushing vigorously the advantage that had been thus given him, and driving the Carthaginians out of the whole island, Dionysios, after



MOUNT ETNA.¹

two years of feeble hostilities, made peace. He gained only the territory of the Sikeloi, with the fortified city of Tauromenion. He already occupied Katana, at the foot of Etna; and the possession of Messina, which gave him command of the strait, opened to him the road towards the cities of the Italiot Greeks, whose decline had now begun, under the repeated attacks of the native populations, Samnites

¹ From a photograph. The view is taken from the Benedictine monastery of Katana.

NOTE. — The representation on the opposite page is from a photograph. This theatre, rebuilt in the Roman period, occupied a site of remarkable beauty, commanding a view of the sea and of the mountain.



THEATRE OF TAORMENION (TAORMINA).

and Lucanians. About the year 397 B. C. Dionysios had sought allies in this country, asking the inhabitants of Rhegion to select for him among the young girls of their city a wife. "To have the marriage a suitable one," a citizen said in the public assembly. "we ought to send him the executioner's daughter." This cutting allusion to the



COINS OF RHEGION.¹

executions ordered by the tyrant remained engraved upon his memory, and Rhegion, which moreover had given shelter to the Syracusan exiles, was first attacked, but it was not the first to be destroyed. Kaulonia, Hipponion, and Skylakion yielded to the tyrant, and their territory was given to the Lokrians, who long before had formed an alliance with Dionysios. After a siege of eleven months, Rhegion surrendered. Dionysios manifested frightful cruelty in his treatment of Phyton, who had been in command during the siege, putting to death his son, and inflicting upon himself tortures so great that the tyrant's own soldiers were indignant at his conduct (387 B. C.). As was usual after such a victory, all the inhabitants were sold, and the city was destroyed. Krotona, the most important city in Magna Græcia, fell also into the power of Dionysios, and the Syracusan exiles, fleeing as far as the Adriatic Sea before they could find safety, established themselves at Ancona, the only seaport on that coast.

¹ 1. Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: PHINON; Zeus seated, to the left, on a throne; he leans with the left hand upon his sceptre, and holds in the right a patera, with which he is about to make a libation upon an altar. (Silver.) 2. Heads of the Dioskouroi, wearing their conical caps, surmounted by a star. Reverse: PHINON; Hermes standing, to the left, a chlamys on his left arm; he wears the petasos, holds in one hand the caduceus, and in the other a patera; in the field at the left, the letter Π. (Bronze.) 3. PHINON, laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: lion's head, front face. (Silver.)

In this year, 387 B. C., in which Dionysios had made himself master of most of the Greek cities of Sicily and Italy, Artaxerxes imposed on their metropolis the peace of Antalkidas, which subjected to himself the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor; thus in the East as well as in the West, Hellas was humbled.¹

In these ruthless expeditions, Dionysios had no other object than to strengthen his authority by employing his mercenaries, and to



CARTHAGINIAN COINS OF SOLOS.²

render his name formidable: it was barbaric warfare, for pillage and destruction. Accordingly, he continued it, without determined plan, apparently, but to keep his forces always ready. Thus his fleet traversed the Ionian Sea, and founded in Illyria the city of Lissos; again, he re-established in Epeiros an exiled king. His expeditions eastward brought him near Delphi and its treasures. Protected in earlier ages by the religious awe men felt towards the gods, this great mass of wealth now excited the covetous desires of the powerful. Dionysios would gladly have seized it; Iason thought of attempting the enterprise; and the Phokians, thirty years later, actually committed this sacrilege. In the case of Dionysios, Sparta interposed, by sending a detachment

¹ In an oration at the Olympic festival of 384 B. C., of which only fragments are extant, Lysias refers to this coincidence, and points out the danger to Greece of this twofold subjection.

² 1. Hermes seated to the left, his chlamys falling from his shoulders, and tying his sandal; in the field, the petasos and the caduceus. Reverse: כפרא (Kaphara?), the Punic name of Solos; a bow and quiver. (Silver.) 2. Head of Pallas, front face. Reverse כפרא (Kaphara?); a hero, nude, kneeling to the right and drawing the bow. (Bronze.) 3. COΛONTINON, bearded head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: כפרא (Kaphara?); rock-lobster, to the left; in the field, six globules, mark of the hemilitron. (Bronze.) 4. Head of Persephone, crowned with wheat-ears, left profile. Reverse כפרא (Kaphara?), a bull going to the left, with reverted head. (Bronze)

of soldiers. The Syracusan compensated himself by plundering elsewhere, but without concentrated action, so that while as a pirate he was very successful, as the ruler of Syracuse he made no important gains. It was at this time an unfortunate period for Italy, ravaged by the Gauls in the north. Dionysios sought his share of



AKROPOLIS OF SELINOUS.¹

the prey in the South, plundering the coasts of Latium and Etruria. From one temple, that of Agylla, he carried off fifteen hundred talents. Returning with a fair wind from this sacrilegious expedition, he said to his courtiers: "See how the gods protect the impious!" At Syracuse he had before this time stolen from Zeus his mantle of solid gold, replacing it by a woollen one, "the other being too cold in winter, and too heavy in summer." Asklepios also lost his beard of gold, — "because, since Apollo was beardless, it was not fitting that his son should wear a beard," — and the Lakinian Here her robe, of such marvellous texture that the Carthaginians, it is

¹ From a photograph. In the foreground are the ruins of the temple of Herakles.

said, gave a hundred and twenty talents for it, that they might adorn one of their divinities with the spoils of a Greek temple.



THE "EAR OF DIONYSIOS," IN THE QUARRIES OF SYRACUSE.¹

In 383 B. C. Dionysios resumed the war against Carthage, and gained over Mago a great victory, the Carthaginian loss in killed and wounded being upwards of ten thousand, besides five thousand who fell into the hands of the Syracusans; but at a subsequent battle

¹ From a photograph. The cavern is about 75 feet high and 213 in length. It has been supposed, though without sufficient ground, that Dionysios, hidden at the summit, took pleasure in listening to the groans of the captives shut up below; and as the mouth of the cavern resembles an ear, this designation, "the ear of Dionysios," has passed into popular usage.

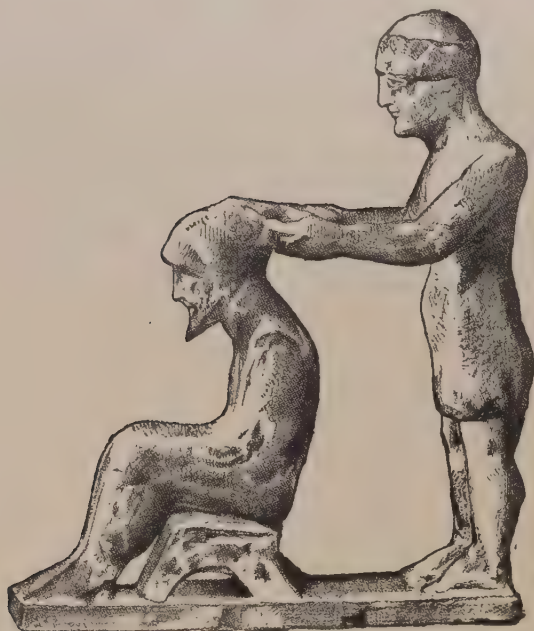
he lost so heavily that he was compelled to give up to the Carthaginians all Sicily westward of the river Halykos, and to pay an indemnity of a thousand talents.

We have no further information concerning Dionysios until the year 368 B. C., when he began a third and last war against Carthage. He captured Selinous, Entella, and Eryx; but his fleet was destroyed in the harbor of Lilybaion, and his death soon after put an end to hostilities. It was said that he had been poisoned by his son; but according to other accounts he perished from indigestion after a banquet in honor of his victory in a dramatic contest at Athens. Dionysios had aspired to this renown, as Nero later, and nearly in the same tyrannical way. He sent Philoxenos to the quarries for having criticised his verses; and when, about 389 B. C., Plato visited his court, the philosopher was quickly sent away on account of his freedom of speech.¹ The *débuts* of Dionysios in the stadion and in the theatre were unfortunate: at Olympia his chariots were broken, and at Athens his dramatic efforts were ill received. In the end, however, he obtained the success which is said to have cost him his life. This change in the literary taste of the Athenians was attributed to the political action of Dionysios in Greece; being called upon to mediate, in 369 B. C., between Sparta and Athens, he had reconciled the two cities, which willingly united against Thebes, and he had also sent them Gallic mercenaries.

Dionysios reigned thirty-eight years. His ability and energy are worthy of praise; but he was unscrupulous as to the means by which he secured power, and his usurpation had not even the questionable excuse of some good done to his country. His sway was as unfruitful for Syracuse as it was pitiless. And what was it for himself? While brave in the presence of the enemy, he was in his private life a prey to constant terrors. He dared not employ a barber, and was accustomed to have his beard singed off by his daughters, who used burning nut-shells for the purpose. He always wore armor under his clothing, and caused every one to be searched before admission to his presence,—even his own brother, whom he finally proscribed, and his son. He slept in an

¹ It must be regarded as a fiction of the rhetoricians that Plato was sold as a slave into the island of Aigina by order of Dionysios, and redeemed by the Kyrenaian Annikeris.

isolated building surrounded by a moat crossed by a drawbridge, and when he addressed the people it was from the top of a tower. He once asked Antiphon what was the best kind of bronze. "That of which the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton are made," was the reply; and it cost the speaker his life. This was one of ten thousand instances of his cruelty.¹ There is a



A HAIR-DRESSER.²

vivid image of the terrors of Dionysios, — the story, if it be true, of the sword hung by a thread over the head of Damokles, one of the tyrant's companions and flatterers, who had praised the happiness of kings, and obtained the royal power for a brief space.

Victorious over Athens, Syracuse seemed called to extend her influence over the entire island, and especially to deliver Sicily from that foreign and hostile race, the Phœnicians of Carthage. But

the thirty-eight years of the reign of Dionysios had resulted only in reducing the Carthaginian possessions by the narrow space comprised between the rivers Himera and Halykos. It was a small extent of territory, scarcely equal to that belonging to the city of Agrigentum. To accomplish this, a wide region had been devastated, many cities laid in ruins, many men slain. Surely the Greeks were justified in distrusting tyrants, their mercenaries, and the hungry crowd of their supporters, who, having nothing, looked to their master to distribute among them the lands and wealth of others, — in their hands a newly-acquired fortune soon spent.

¹ We must not confuse, as Plutarch does, the tragic poet with the Athenian orator of the same name, who perished in 411 B. C.

² Terra-cotta group discovered at Tanagra, and now in the Museum of Berlin (from O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art antique*).

II. — THE YOUNGER DIONYSIOS; DION; TIMOLEON.

THE elder Dionysios was not a man of profligate life. His son, however, committed many offences against social morals. The story runs that the father on one occasion rebuked him severely, referring to his own example in this respect. "But you were not a king's son," said the young man. "And I greatly fear your children will not be sons of a king, if you go on thus," the father rejoined. Such, indeed, was the fact. The younger Dionysios, in character at once feeble and violent, united good intentions with unbridled passions. Vice and virtue disputed



SILVER COIN.¹

for the mastery in his character. Led by evil companions, he gave himself up to orgies which lasted whole months; at other times he yielded to the influence of two men who urged him to lead a more worthy life. The estimable Dion, a brother-in-law of the elder Dionysios, gave a wise direction to the early measures of the new reign. Himself a pupil of Plato, he inspired the young ruler with a desire to see the master, who was invited to Syracuse. Twice Plato visited the court, recalled by the tyrant's better nature, and his teaching for a time had good results; but Dionysios at last grew weary of philosophy, and ended by giving himself up to the seductions of pleasure and the influence of evil advisers. Dion himself lost his ascendancy, and was compelled to flee to the Peloponnesos.

Some years passed without the manifestation of any resentment on the part of the exile; but when the tyrant confiscated his property and compelled his wife to marry another person, Dion resolved to avenge at once his own wrongs and those of his country.

¹ Coin of Zakynthos bearing the name of Dion of Syracuse. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΔΙΩΝΟΣ; tripod; beneath, the letters ΖΑ[κυνθίων]. Dion of Syracuse prepared at Zakynthos for his expedition against the younger Dionysios; before his departure he offered a solemn sacrifice to the Zakynthian Apollo (Plutarch, *Dion*, xxii.).

He took into his pay a band of mercenaries, eight hundred in number, and crossed with them to Minoa, a Carthaginian port on the southern coast of Sicily. Exiles and malcontents soon gathered about him, and Agrigentum, Gela, Kamarina, and even Syracuse, whence the tyrant had withdrawn, opened their gates to him (375 B.C.). The citadel alone was held by the officers of Dionysios, who made a long and skilful resistance. Finally, however, they yielded. Dionysios meanwhile had fled to Lokris with his treasures; but he had left discord behind him, instigating against the victorious party the demagogue Herakleides. Dionysios offended the populace by his severity; he sought to establish at Syracuse an aristocracy which would keep the multitude in check, perhaps even a monarchy, as at Sparta. Driven out for having opposed an agrarian law, and shortly after recalled, he perished in 353 B.C., assassinated by an Athenian adventurer, Kallippos, who was himself succeeded in the following year by Hipparinos, a brother of Dionysios. The latter took advantage of these frequent revolutions to return into the city in 346 B.C.; but embittered by misfortune, he showed so much cruelty that the Syracusans called in Hiketas, tyrant of Leontini, who compelled him to shut himself up in the city, and admitted Carthaginian vessels into the harbor.

It was the intention of Hiketas to promote only his own interest. But a new liberator was sent from Corinth, the mother-city of Syracuse. Timoleon, who had been designated by the Corinthians for this mission, was an honest and energetic man, devoted to liberty, in whose cause he had sacrificed his own brother. With ten vessels he sailed for Sicily. In the deplorable condition of Syracuse, — the citadel held by the tyrant, the harbor and the town in the possession of enemies, — it seemed that the city was hopelessly lost. Fortunately Dionysios, his resources and his courage being alike exhausted, offered to give up the citadel to Timoleon, on condition that he himself, with his treasures, should be transported to Corinth, where he would henceforth reside as a private individual (343 B.C.). Jealousy meantime grew up between Hiketas and the Carthaginians; the latter, fearing an outbreak in the midst of this great city which they had so many times threatened with destruction, withdrew on board their vessels, and Hiketas, left unsupported, was forced to flee. Timoleon destroyed the fortress that tyranny had built for itself,

and upon its site erected porticos and tribunals. The city was at last set free ; and now it was necessary to re-people it, for incessant revolutions during many years had induced part of the inhabitants to emigrate ; grass grew in the deserted streets, and wild beasts prowled around the very gates in the uncultivated fields. Timoleon wrote to Corinth, inviting all the Sicilian Greeks to return to their homes, and urging new colonists to come out. As a result of this proclamation ten thousand Greeks assembled in the Peloponnesos to be transported to Syracuse ; and such multitudes flocked thither from different parts of Italy and Sicily that the number of new inhabitants amounted to sixty thousand in all. Timoleon distributed lands among them, and to re-establish the finances, he caused to be sold, for the benefit of the State, all deserted houses, leaving at the same time to their former proprietors the right, if they chose to appear, of recovering their property. He sold also a great number of statues which had been erected at different epochs, after having submitted them to a sort of public judgment ; and the statue of Gelon was the only one preserved. He re-established a purely democratic government, perfected the civil legislation, and instituted an annual magistracy, — the *amphipolos* of the Olympian Zeus, whose name served to designate the year, as did at Athens that of the archon eponymos.

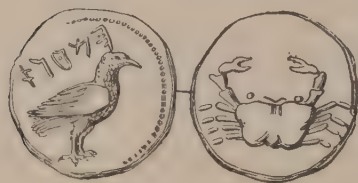
After having re-established order in Syracuse, Timoleon attempted to extend his reforms throughout Sicily. Hiketas was reduced to the condition of a private individual in Leontini ; Leptines, tyrant of Apollonia, preferred to follow the example of Dionysios and withdraw to Corinth. The other Greek cities and most of the native inhabitants entered into alliance with Syracuse.

Carthage became alarmed at this power built up by wisdom and a regard for the public welfare ; seventy thousand Africans landed at Lilybaion. With only twelve thousand men, Timoleon advanced to meet this great army. A battle took place on the banks of the Krimisos. Timoleon's victory was in part due to the courage and devotion of his army, but also to a sudden and violent storm of lightning and hail, which threw the enemy's forces into confusion at a time when part of the Carthaginians were on one side of the river, and part on the other. More than three thousand Carthaginian citizens were killed, — a disaster almost unexampled in a city accustomed to depend upon mercenaries for its army.

Negotiations followed; and in order to make a more lasting peace, Timoleon did not impose burdensome conditions. The boundary between the territories of the two peoples was fixed at the river Halykos. But the Greeks who were occupying Carthaginian territory were allowed to emigrate into the Syracusan; the Greek cities were declared free; and Carthage agreed to make no alliance with any of the tyrants (338 B. C.).

Timoleon then resumed his struggle against these public enemies. The tyrants of Katana and Messina, being vanquished, were put to death as criminals by the people whom they had oppressed; and Timoleon then attacked and destroyed the Campanians, former mercenaries of Dionysios, who had made their head-quarters on Mount Etna, and ravaged all the surrounding country.

After having, in less than four years, imposed peace on Carthage, overthrown the tyrants, restored order to Syracuse, and prosperity to the Greek part of the island, Timoleon laid down his authority. Had he retained it, his name would be lost in the multitude, legitimate or usurping; but his abdication gives him a place apart, lofty and honorable. He passed the last years of his life in retire-

SILVER COIN.¹

ment, respected by all the inhabitants, who consulted him on treaties, partitions of land, and laws. On one occasion two orators were bold enough to accuse his public conduct, upon which some of Timoleon's friends were extremely indignant; but he restrained them, saying that it had been the object of his life to make every citizen, even the humblest, free to express his thought, whatever it might be. To his latest day, the Syracusans honored their liberator, soliciting his advice, and bringing strangers to see him, as if their city had nothing finer to show than this hero of integrity and devo-

GOLD COIN.²

¹ Carthaginian coin of Motye. מוטיא (*Motya*) in Punic legend; eagle to the right. Reverse: a crab.

² Coin of Carthage. Head of Demeter, with a wreath of wheat-ears, left profile; she has ear-rings and a broad necklace. Reverse: horse to the right.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a statue of Aphrodite in Parian marble, discovered in 1804 in the Achradina, and now in the Museum of Syracuse. (From a photograph.)



APHRODITE OF SYRACUSE.

tion to the public service. Near the close of his life Timoleon became blind; but the Syracusans still continued to consult him on all matters of importance. He was taken in a chariot to the public assembly, and there, after the discussion, gave his decision,

COINS OF SYRACUSE.¹

which the multitude received with the greatest respect, and invariably followed. He died full of years and honors, leaving his adopted country prosperous, great, and free, leaving also a spotless name, notwithstanding the tragedy of his brother's assassination.

¹ 1. Head of Persephone, with a wreath of wheat-ears, left profile; behind, a flower. Reverse: a bull, threatening with his horns, to the left; in the field, two dolphins and the letter T. (Bronze.) 2. ZEYΣ EAEYΘEPIOΣ; laurelled head of Zeus, left profile; behind, a star. Reverse: ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; the triquetra, emblem of Sicily (Trinakria). (Bronze.) 3. ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; bearded head of Ares, left profile, with a Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Pegasus galloping to the left; under him, a dolphin. (Bronze.) 4. ΣΥΠΑ[κοσίωv]; head of Pallas, with a Corinthian helmet, left profile. Reverse: winged hippocamp galloping to the left. (Bronze.) 5. Head of Pallas, left profile, with a Corinthian helmet and a necklace. Reverse: ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; Artemis Soteira standing, to the left, and drawing the bow; her dog is leaping at her feet; in the field, ΣΩ[τρεῖα]. (Didrachm.) 6. ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; nymph's head, left profile; on her diadem, the name of the artist-engraver of the coin, EYMHNOY; around the head, dolphins. Reverse: woman standing in a quadriga, the horses galloping to the left; she holds the reins and a goad; a Victory, holding a fillet, flies towards her. (Tetradrachm.)

His obsequies took place in the presence of a vast multitude, and with the magnificence suited to the greatest solemnities. When the body had been placed upon the funeral pile, a herald made proclamation that the people of Syracuse had devoted two hundred minai [about \$4,300] to do honor by a stately funeral to Timoleon of Corinth; that it had been decreed to observe forever the anniversary of his death by musical competitions, gymnastic contests, and horse-races, inasmuch as Timoleon had overthrown the tyrants in Sicily, conquered the Barbarians, re-peopled the great cities of the island, and restored to the Sicilian Greeks their laws and institutions.

III. — AGATHOKLES AND HIERON.

FROM 337 B. C., the date of Timoleon's death, to 316 we have no facts concerning the history of Syracuse. We discover only that the city fell back into the anarchy from which Timoleon



COIN OF AGATHOKLES.¹

had rescued it, — a result which was inevitable from the general decline in public and private morals. It is from anarchy that republics have special need to guard themselves. Syracuse, falling back into disorder, was to be punished by the return of tyranny.

First ruled Herakleides and Sosistratos, who, in the words of Diodoros, "filled their lives with acts of perfidy and murder and of the greatest impiety." Then followed Agathokles, a man of genius spoiled by circumstances, whose life was remarkable from his cradle. His father, Karkinos of Rhegion, who was living in Carthaginian Sicily, exposed him to perish, it is said, having had a series of dreams foretelling that the child would be a cause of great misfortune to his country. The mother saved him, and seven years later Karkinos, who had much regretted the child's supposed death, was delighted to recover his son, and brought him

¹ ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ; head of Artemis Soteira, right profile, with the quiver on her shoulder. Reverse: ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; winged thunderbolt. (Bronze.)

to Syracuse, where he learned the trade of a potter. But his extreme beauty attracted the interest of a wealthy citizen, who placed him in the army and obtained for him the grade of chiliarch. From this time he made his way without difficulty. His brilliant valor and his eloquence gave him fame; to this he added wealth when, on the death of his protector he married the latter's widow. He then took part in public life, and supported the democratic party. Being exiled by Sosistratos, he fled to Krotona, and later to Tarentum, when he distinguished himself by extreme courage and adroitness, but was expelled from each in turn on



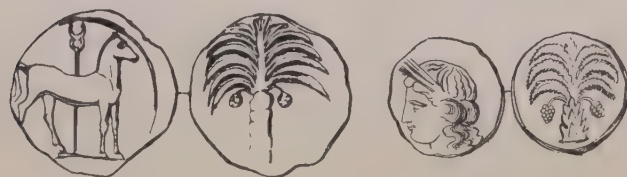
POTTER STIRRING THE FIRE IN HIS FURNACE.¹

account of his ambitious designs. After the fall of Sosistratos and of Herakleides, he returned to Syracuse, and there obtained the command of the army. Very well-founded suspicions caused the Syracusans to regret this appointment. They removed him from office, and posted assassins to take his life; but the person killed was only a slave attired in his master's clothes. To retaliate for this attack, Agathokles marched upon the city with the army, which was devoted to him personally, being composed of the poorest citizens, who had everything to expect from their leader's generosity and from a general disturbance of civil order. He accused the Council of Six Hundred of an attempt to assassinate him, and

¹ Corinthian plaque of terra-cotta, now in the Louvre. (Cf. Rayet and Collignon, *Histoire de la Céramique grecque*, p. xiii. fig. 4.) The painter "has represented very accurately the round-topped furnace, with the projecting mouth of the fire-box, affording a draft. At the top, an aperture permits the smoke and flame to escape; and half way up is the opening by which the potter introduces his vases; this is closed by a small door, but there is a hole in the door through which the potter can watch the progress of the baking."

caused the larger proportion of them to be put to death, with four thousand of the principal citizens;¹ he gave up to pillage the dwellings of the rich; then calling together an assembly of the people, he declared that he was satisfied with having set free the city from the oligarchs, and that now he resigned the authority with

which he had been invested. But in his harangue he had adroitly made mention of an abolition of debts and a division of prop-



1. COINS OF CARTHAGE.² 2.

erty, and men's appetites were whetted by the words. He was urged to resume the command; he refused, and finally accepted, on the condition that he should not have to share the responsibility with colleagues, who might perhaps betray the State. The people agreed to accept him as their master (316 B.C.).

Like the elder Dionysios, Agathokles made war upon Carthage; and he did it with a degree of genius which makes this war remarkable. He began by breaking up two leagues which had been formed against Syracuse, one having its centre in Messina, and the other in Agrigentum, both formed at the instigation of Syracusan exiles, and both allied with



BRONZE COIN.³

Carthage. Messina, Tauromenion, Gela, were taken by him and severely dealt with. Agrigentum, vainly assisted by Akrotatos, the

¹ Similar massacres later took place at Messina, Tauromenion, Gela, and elsewhere. During the siege of Syracuse by the Carthaginians, sixteen hundred persons were put to death.

² 1. Horse, to the right; behind him, a caduceus. Reverse: a palm-tree, bearing two clusters of grapes. (Bronze.) 2. Head of Demeter, with a wreath of wheat-ears, left profile. Reverse: a palm-tree, bearing two clusters of dates. (Bronze.)

³ Head of personified Africa, wearing an elephant's head, right profile; she carries two javelins on her shoulder. Before the head: REX IVBA; the whole in a laurel-wreath. Reverse: eagle standing, to the right, on a thunderbolt; his wings are displayed, and he holds

son of one of the Spartan kings, asked for peace. Defeated in a great battle on Mount Eknomos by troops superior in number under the command of Hamilcar, Agathokles was besieged in Syracuse; but he



MOTHER AND DAUGHTER, PERHAPS DEMETER AND KORA.¹

had succeeded in giving the city time to prepare for a long siege, and, moreover, he meditated a project, the boldest that any military leader had ever conceived,—namely, to retaliate by besieging Carthage and making Africa the theatre of the war. Without

a sceptre in one of his claws; he is surrounded by a laurel-wreath. This bronze coin is, however, of the reign of the Mauretanian Juba II. (25 B. C. to 23 A. D.). It is given here only for the personification of Africa.

¹ Terra-cotta found at Myrina, and now in the Louvre (*Catalogue*, No. 264). For an explanation of the type, see Pottier and Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, part ii. pp. 431 *et seq.*

revealing to any one his design, he equips a fleet, with fourteen thousand men on board, sails out of the harbor, eludes the enemy's squadron, taking advantage of an eclipse, and lands in Africa. There, seizing a torch, he declares to his soldiers that he has made a vow to Demeter and to Persephone that he will sacrifice to them his vessels, and he sets fire to his own galley; his officers follow his example; the soldiers, transported with enthusiasm, swear that they will never leave Africa till they are masters of Carthage, and they march upon the city (310 B. C.).

Meantime Hamilcar has followed. The sight of the burned vessels gives him the idea of an ingenious deception. He collects the prows of the Greek galleys, carries them back to Syracuse, and announcing to the inhabitants that Agathokles has suffered a disaster, summons them to open their gates. The fragments brought back by him seemed to prove the truth of his words. Then follow fierce disputes in the city. The majority wish to surrender. Antandros, the brother of Agathokles, and in authority during the latter's absence, is about to yield, when suddenly from the walls a richly adorned galley is seen approaching, and songs of victory are heard from its deck. The vessel, skilfully managed, avoids the Carthaginian fleet, enters the harbor, and the Syracusans learn at the same time of the venture made by Agathokles and of its success. The situation is at once changed, and Hamilcar withdraws.

It does not concern us to narrate the victories of Agathokles in Africa; they belong to another history than this, now approaching its completion. Notwithstanding the sacrifice of five hundred



COINS OF SICILY, IN GENERALE.¹

children of the most influential families in Carthage, thrown alive into the furnace of the African Moloch, two hundred cities, it is said, were taken by the Syracusan or made alliance with him. The Numidians furnished him troops; Ophellas, governor of Kyrene, brought him twenty thousand men. The treaty

¹ Diademed head of Sicily, right profile; before her, the word ΣΙΚΕΑΙΑ. Reverse: ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ; lighted torch between two wheat-ears. (Bronze. Collection of the late Lucien de Hirsch.)

concluded between them gave Africa to one, and to the other Sicily and the West. Thus the great projects of Alexander were accomplished, and the Greek race invaded all lands.¹

SICILIAN COINS.²

But Agathokles committed a crime which was — as crime always is — a blunder. Through jealousy, perhaps, or regretting the promises that he had made, he instigated a tumult, during which Ophellas was assassinated. This detached from him a portion of his new troops, compelled him to send others away, and caused distrust in

¹ It was at about the same period, and in Africa, that Agathokles took the title of king and assumed the crown, in imitation of Alexander's successors.

² 1. Head of the youthful Herakles (or Iolaos), right profile, bound with a fillet; the lion's skin covers his neck. Reverse: ΑΓΥΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ, a leopard to the right, devouring a goat. (Bronze.) 2. ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΣ; head of Tyndaris, diademed, right profile; behind, a star. Reverse: one of the Dioskouroi on horseback, galloping to the right; in the field, a branch of laurel. (Bronze.) 3. ΑΡΕΟΣ; laurelled head of Ares, right profile; behind, a Macedonian helmet with cheek-pieces. Reverse: ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΩΝ, an eagle, with wings displayed, standing on a thunderbolt. (Bronze.) 4. Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile. Reverse: ΣΥΜΜΑΧ[ΙΚΟΝ]; thunderbolt and bunch of grapes. (Bronze attributed to Alaisa.) 5. Head of Persephone, with wreath of wheat-ears, left profile, underneath, two fishes. Reverse: ΚΕΝΤΟΡΙΠΙΝΩΝ; leopard to the left, with lifted paw. (Bronze.)

the camp. However, he was again victorious. But affairs in Sicily, which had been going well, gradually turned out disastrously, and the Syracusan generals sent for Agathokles. He returned into the island, restored order in Syracuse, and subjugated Agrigentum, which had again taken up arms. Unfortunately, two divisions of his army had been destroyed in Africa during his absence, and the Carthaginians, who had made desperate efforts, held the third besieged. Agathokles returned to Africa, but found only ten or twelve thousand men, exhausted by fighting and divided by seditions. A defeat which he experienced increased the demoralization.

COINS OF KORKYRA.¹

His sons, who were his principal subordinates, cast him into prison. However, he succeeded in escaping on board

a trireme and returning to Syracuse (307 B. C.), while Carthage expressed gratitude to her sanguinary gods by sacrificing to them the handsomest of the Syracusan prisoners.

Agathokles had already shown himself very cruel; after the African disaster he became ruthless. His sons having been slain by the soldiers, he put to death all their relatives. At the end of a year he made peace with Carthage, who retained all the cities she had before held, and received three hundred talents and two hundred thousand medimnoi of wheat. Rest was not suited to this turbulent character. He rushed al-

COIN OF HIERON.²

most immediately into new enterprises, subjugated the country of the Bruttii, Krotona, and even Korkyra, which had invoked his assistance against the Macedonians. Withal, Carthage still occu-

¹ 1. KOPKY[παίων]; fore-part of an ox, to the right. Reverse: two finials in squares representing the gardens of Alkinoös; in the field, a bunch of grapes, a kantharos, and KI, initials of a magistrate's name. (Silver.) 2. Cow suckling her calf. Reverse: K, initial of the city's name; conventional representation of the gardens of Alkinoös. (Silver.)

² Diademed head of Hieron, left profile. Reverse: ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ; Hieron on horseback, galloping to the right; he is armed with the lance, and his peplos floats back from his shoulders; beneath, ΣΩ[τεῖρα? or initials of a magistrate's name]. (Bronze.)

pied his thoughts; at the age of more than seventy years he again began immense preparations, and increased his fleet to the number of two hundred vessels.

Death finally put an end to his career. He desired to secure the crown to his son Agathokles. Another of his sons, Archagathos, one of those who had been assassinated in Africa, had left a son of the same name. This young man invited his uncle to a banquet,



MONUMENT KNOWN AS THE TOMB OF ARCHIMEDES, AT SYRACUSE.¹

and killed him. To rid himself also of his grandfather, Archagathos gave him, it is said, a poisoned tooth-pick which would not be immediately fatal. The old king, unable to punish his son's murderer, was resolved to deprive him of the power which he had sought by crimes to attain, and to this end he gave liberty to the Syracusans. A few days later he died after extreme suffering, and, according to

¹ From a photograph. The name is not appropriate, for the tomb of Archimedes was at the gate of Agrigentum.

some authors, was placed upon the funeral pile before he had actually breathed his last (289 B. C.).

After this tragic story of tyrants are seen the fruits of tyranny, — revolutions and general disorder. Sicily fell into a frightful condition. The mercenaries of Agathokles ravaged it, then established themselves at Messina, and spread terror on both sides of the strait under the name of Mamertines. Carthage allied herself with them, and her troops laid siege to Syracuse. The city called in the aid



FIGURE ON A SICILIAN VASE.¹

of Pyrrhos, and he drove the Carthaginians back towards the west of the island; but his defeat before Lilybaion, the insubordination of the Sicilians, and his tyranny over them, prevented him from completing the deliverance of the island, and he withdrew as he came, an adventurer, pillaging the temples along his road.

“Sicily will be a good battle-field for the Romans and Carthaginians,” he said on leaving the island. Syracuse had no longer the strength to struggle against Carthage, the undisputed mistress of Africa and the Mediterranean. She felt this, abandoned her

former policy, and under Hieron, who governed wisely from 275 to 215 B. C., she resigned herself to an alliance with the Carthaginians against Rome, whence henceforth came the greatest danger. Sharing in the defeat of Carthage, Hieron obtained from the Roman Senate fifty years of peace and the possession of many Sicilian cities, — a period which brings us down to 212 B. C., when Syracuse, after having defied the strength of Athens, and sometimes all that Carthage could bring against her, fell bravely under the sword of Rome, the last page of her history showing the great name of Archimedes.²

Rome comes in everywhere, at the death of the Greek States,

¹ Painting on a vase discovered at Gela, from Benndorf, *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder*, pl. xlvii. 1. The figure is represented flying, holding in the left hand a lyre, and with the right pouring out the contents of a *phiale*.

² For this last episode in the disturbed life of Syracuse, see *History of Rome*, chapter xx.

to inherit their possessions. "As the sea receives all rivers," said Aristeides the rhetorician, "so the Roman Empire receives and keeps all the nations."

From this ruin of Greece, and later from the downfall of the Roman Empire, has been drawn the axiom, beloved of poets, that States, like individuals, pass successively through a brilliant youth, a maturity sometimes fruitful, soon followed by a fatal decline. But there are nations which defy time, notwithstanding the most deadly blows; and for others there is a renaissance which gives them a new existence, thanks to the lessons received by them from their dying predecessors. Thus Greece, crushed by Macedon, and later by Rome, has continued to live in intellect and art. This we shall now seek to show in a brief review of her history.

CHAPTER XL.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

I.

ROME began in prose, and for centuries knew no other expression of thought. Greece began with poetry, and there were poets even among her legislators and her philosophers; hence, of her earliest age we have no knowledge except from those who sang the gods and heroes of ancient days. It has been the same in many other countries. The *Sagas* and the *Edda* are the *Iliad* of the Northern nations; the *Nibelungenlied* is that of the Germans; the *Châh-Naméh* of Ferdousi that of the Persians. These legendary histories without doubt contain a certain amount of truth. But how is it possible to recognize fact in the midst of so much fable? Fortunately we have, in respect to these races, other testimony than legend: for Persia, Herodotos and the Achæmenid inscriptions, which to-day we read; for the Germans, Tacitus, Jordanes, and Gregory of Tours; for the Saxons and Scandinavians, the Venerable Bede and Alfred the Great; and these writers permit us to place, at the side of the popular traditions, statements which correct or explain them. But for ancient Greece, who shall testify against Homer? Shall we, with Euhemeros and his successors, believe that all these gods were men, and bring down legend to a form which reason can accept; or, like belated disciples of the Porch and the Academy, see noble teaching even in frivolous tales? What Ariadne's thread guides in this labyrinth; and when the breath of criticism has withered these delicate and beautiful flowers, what remains from them?

To believe that mythology is fiction only on the surface, and that it is truth within, — that it is a curtain hiding a stage on

which real action takes place, — would be singularly to undervalue the creative power of the popular imagination. Two forces which are contradictory, feeling and reason, guide the lives of men and of peoples. The former, which has the strength of instinct, long rules alone, and always disputes the sovereignty with the other, whose authority is established only with extreme slowness, gaining point after point successively and laboriously. There is, then, in the life of nations an age when all is sentiment and image, when everything lives and is personified. — as there comes another when all is reflection and scrutiny, when everything is analyzed and dissected. The former is the time of faith in phenomena, the legendary epoch, which peoples with so many divinities Olympus and Valhalla, which crowds with so many adventures the history of the heroes, of Achilles or of Roland, of Theseus or of King Arthur. The latter is a time of doubt as to whatever seems to be outside of natural laws, — an epoch when scientific research into cause and effect has reduced the *rôle* of gods and heroes, showing behind the latter the condition of the race, which makes half their strength, and behind the former the faith which has created them, and commands their action while seeming to obey them.

Of these two ages, the first continues — and thus includes some of the most eminent of the Greek writers — up to the sixth century B. C., and the second begins with Anaxagoras and Thucydides. Herodotos still wears the yoke of the old faith; he has the child-like curiosity of a traveller amazed at everything he sees, and except with a few timid interpretations, he believes in all the stories of the Muse. Between Herodotos and Thucydides Greece attained man's estate. The son of Oloros, animated with a freer spirit, removes the shining veils which cover the cradle of his race, and boldly uses his reason among the men and the events of the past. He avoids dealing with mythological impossibilities, and notices only the great facts; from these he eliminates the element of the marvellous, while he brings out their political aspect, and thus presents, of these times so dark to criticism, so full of light to faith, a picture in sober tones, which in its general outlines is very probably quite true. "The events of the early days," he says in his Introduction, "it is impossible, from their remoteness, to ascertain with certainty."

In a previous work it has been thought best not to enter into

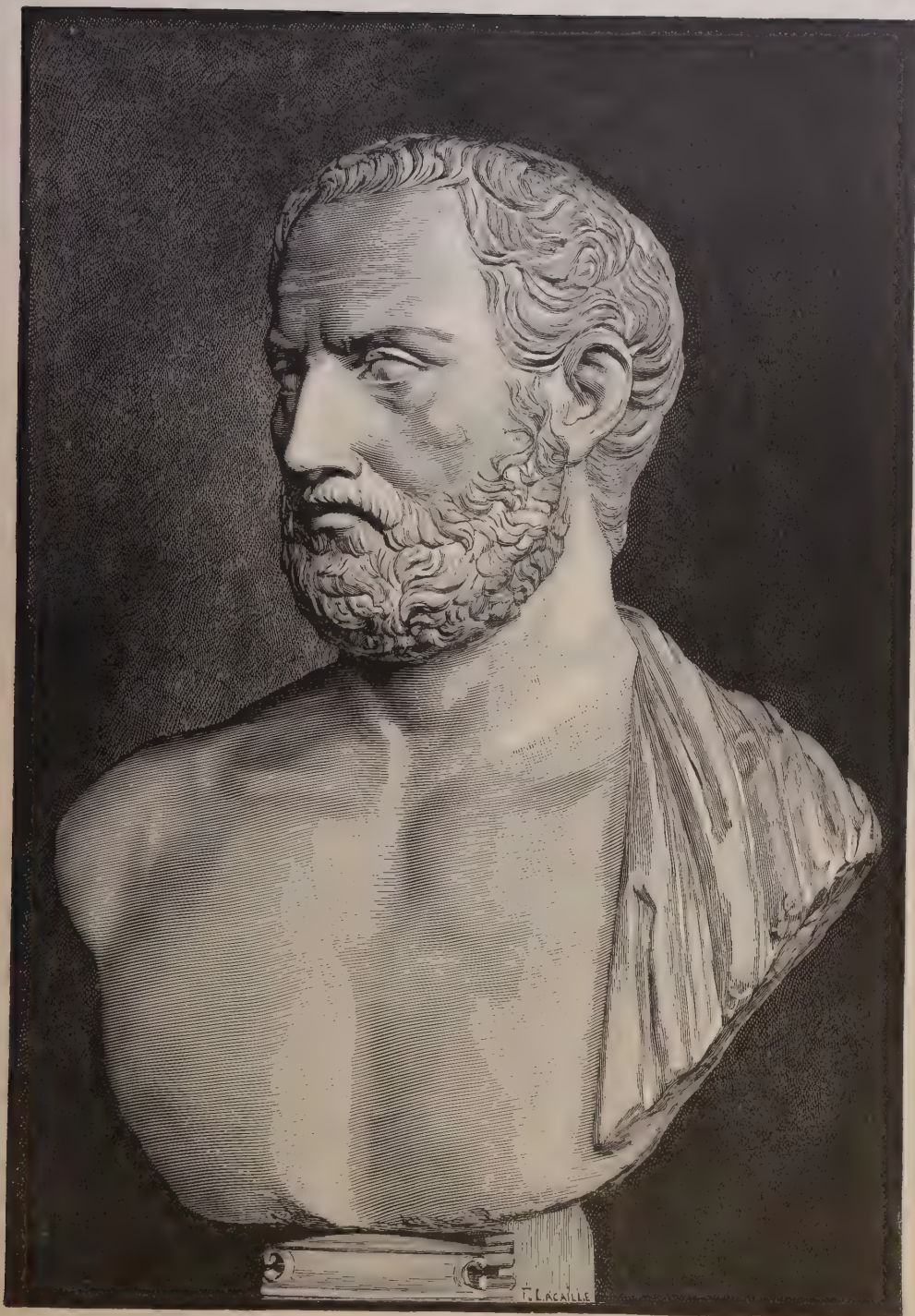
the labyrinth of Roman beginnings; much more undesirable would it be to attempt to draw a connected narrative from those poetic fragments which cover and conceal under graceful or tragic fictions the early story of Greece, — as if one were to make a history of the Middle Ages from *The Golden Legend*, the *Chronicles* of Archbishop Turpin, or the French *Romances of Chivalry*. The early Greek history has been therefore treated as was the early Roman. The legends which have been related it is important to know, because modern literature is full of them, and modern art still seeks from them its inspiration; but after seeking out the probabilities to which general history and the comparison of facts lead us, we have advanced rapidly towards times which are better known.

Meanwhile, behind the Greece of the poets, modern science has discovered a prehistoric Greece. It has studied what remains to us from a society more ancient than Homer by perhaps ten centuries, and it has asked from this land, all mountains, peninsulas, and islands, from the seas which bathe its coasts, from the sky above it, what the influences were which acted upon its earliest inhabitants.

Whence came they? From Asia, the cradle of the Aryan race, which, in its long journey towards the extreme west, left, along the eastern shore of the Ægæan Sea, in Thrace and in Greece, peoples whose language and religion had a common basis; so that around the great Hellenic lake cities grew up among which mutual relations were possible.

If, in the legendary period, political history can gather up but few authentic facts, social history finds much that is valuable in the usages which have endured. At that time the family was formed, the rites of worship were established, cities were built, and it was on ancient foundations that rested the domestic hearth, the public prytaneion, and the agora, where at first around the king sat the chiefs, his counsellors, and later the people came to deliberate and vote.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a marble bust of Thucydides, now in Holcombe Hall, near Bath, England, and photographed for the first time by A. Michaëlis in *Die Bildnisse des Thukydides: Festschrift der Universität Strassburg zur vierten Säcularfeier der Universität Tübingen*, 1877. M. Michaelis has kindly placed at my disposal his paper, which was printed for private circulation only; also the fine photograph here reproduced. See, in Vol. III. p. 86, another bust of Thucydides, now in the Museum of Naples.



THUCYDIDES.

In Homer there is only the clash of arms, in Hesiod only the birth of the gods and the labors of husbandry. In these old poems and in the legends whence they are derived, the incidents related doubtless are rather matters of imagination than of reality; but we find there ideas, manners, and beliefs which have long survived. Achilles extols martial glory, Hektor depends upon his exploits to obtain immortality in the memory of men; and they have bequeathed to the heroes of the historic age the sentiment of honor. The women of the legendary period are: the noble Andromache; Arete, or Virtue, so worthy of her name; her daughter Nausikaä, of maiden simplicity; Alkestis, who gives her life for her husband; Antigone, sacrificing herself for her brother; and all those noble types of heroines who grace the drama of Sophokles. The religion of that time retains the traces of a coarse naturalism which blends itself with the worship of the glorious Olympians, and, together with beneficent daimons, calls into existence divinities who are displeased at the sight of human happiness. Slowly, however, the sombre sky clears; Destiny ceases to be blind, Nemesis to be envious; Apollo, the god of light, gives wise counsels, and Athene makes the manners of her people gentler. Death is bound to life by the funeral honors which give men's ancestors a new existence beyond the grave, and make them the protectors of those whom they have left behind. The worship of the dead — a tie between the generations — gives a sacred character to the aristocratic families; and it is around tombs, as well as temples, that patriotism, the great virtue of those ancient communities, gains the strength which has enabled it to accomplish so many miracles.¹

¹ Isaïos, the instructor of Demosthenes, says, in the fourth century: "All who think of death desire to leave behind them some one who will bring to their manes the funeral offerings. The law even imposes on the archon the duty of making it sure that no house becomes extinct." (*Concerning the Inheritance of Apollodoros*, 30.)

II.

The return of the Herakleids, and the great migrations which followed it, close the legendary period. Traditions suddenly end; the Muse is silent; the luminous splendor thrown by Homer upon the heroic age is extinguished; and we enter upon four centuries of darkness. This night which came over Greece is the passage from legend to history, from the world of fiction to the world of fact. When, in 776 B.C., was instituted the custom of counting the years by the return of the Olympic festivals, this furnished the means of establishing chronology. But how many gaps there were before the age of Herodotos! And how often poetry takes the place of history, as in respect to the Messenian wars.

We have then nothing to place between the Invasion of the Dorians—a race unknown to the *Iliad*—and the Era of the Olympiads. Concerning Sparta before Lykourgos, and Athens before Solon, only a few words here and there can be found; and for the rest of Hellas there is almost nothing, although from this time Greece had an existence, and its historic life had begun. Each region has the population it will keep till the nation's latest day; and each one of these communities is already assuming, under the double influence of its geographical position and the circumstances of its establishment, the character which will give rise in Greece to hostilities of races, ideas, and interests.

From the eleventh to the seventh century B.C. a fact of importance took place; namely, the dispersal of the Hellenic race over almost all the shores of the Mediterranean.

The Greeks, delighting to conceal a deep meaning under the most graceful images, relate that a shepherd who was feeding his flock near the shore of the sea saw one day a beautiful young girl arise out of the waves, smile upon him, and call him to come to her. At first he hesitated, then yielded to the charm, and threw himself into the water. How many enchanting sirens thus sported around these beautiful shores and called the dwellers to come out upon the blue sea! Like the shepherd, the Greeks yielded to the irresistible attraction, and made their way from

island to island, among the three continents that these islands connected, meeting at many points peoples of kindred origin, or already attached to them by old commercial relations.

In two ways Nature laid upon the Hellenes the obligation "to sail perpetually upon the mighty sea;" namely, by the situation of their native land, with the sea almost everywhere in sight, and still more by the products of their soil, which, ill adapted to cereals, notwithstanding the protection of Demeter, the revered goddess,¹ is much better suited to the cultivation of the vine and the olive, — products dealt with by industry and commerce. A people having wheat and cattle may isolate themselves, and ask nothing more from the soil which feeds them; hence the slow growth of agricultural communities. But one having only wine and oil would die of hunger without an interchange of commodities. Hence this population is forced to live in constant relations with its neighbors, to travel, and to collect merchandise, knowledge, and ideas. Can we wonder that the Greeks were and still are, chiefly occupied with commerce, that they visited all the countries of the ancient world, and left colonies on every shore?

Commerce lives by liberty: the Greek colonies were free; those of Rome were dependent, because they were an instrument of conquest, and rule requires obedience.

While the Greeks thus went forth by the thousand gates that Nature had opened to them, a revolution at home was slowly substituting, for the kings of the heroic age, who were the sons of the gods, a race of nobles, also claiming divine descent. When this aristocracy attained its object of having no master above it, it at once felt a necessity of having subjects beneath it. But the subjects, in their turn having attained greater prosperity and intelligence, considered themselves capable of self-government, and they effected against the oligarchy what the oligarchy had accomplished against the kings. But, for this struggle, they had chosen chiefs, who now seized the supremacy, *τύραννοι*: here by force or strategy, there by

¹ On page 525 is represented, from a photograph, a statue of Demeter in marble, discovered at Knidos, and now in the British Museum. The goddess is seated, and the veil covering her head adds to the expression of sadness in her face. It is the type of the afflicted Demeter, who has vainly wearied herself in the search for her daughter. Cf. the verses of the Homeric Hymn (iv. 197 *et seq.* of the edition A. Gemoll, 1886), and the notice by O. Rayet in the *Monum. de l'Art antique*.

the consent of the people, who gave them the authority, that they in return might give to the State order and equal rights. This political phase, also, was not lasting. The abuse of power by these tyrants and their cruelty brought about a new revolution, this time democratic. Such then is the life of Greece up to the Median wars: first, kings; then, an aristocracy; then, tyrants supported by the oppressed class; lastly, the community governing itself,—in some cities granting more to the people who live by industry and commerce; in others, more to the rich who own the soil. This form prevailed in Greece at the time when the Persians invaded the country; and Herodotos tells us it was her free institutions that saved her.

During this long and arduous work of political transformation, intellectual life is, as it were, suspended in the metropolis. But in the Asiatic colonies, neighbors to the great Oriental civilizations, genius is developed. Art and science are born there; poetry adds to the inheritance of Homer; and the Greek world is lighted up at its circumference with extreme brilliancy. At the end of the sixth century before Christ, a hostile rule has been imposed upon these intellectual cities. This foreign hand chills the springs of life, and civilization was about to perish, smothered in the germ, when Marathon and Salamis saved it,—glorious names, which grateful humanity will never cease to repeat.

III.

With its gulfs for moats, and its mountains for bastions, Greece is like a great fortress built up between Europe and Asia. Xerxes, with his myriads, in vain assailed it: the immense Empire of the East was shattered against it. These victories were chiefly gained by Athens, and decided her destinies. Invasion having been repulsed, its return must be prevented: Athens alone thought of this and provided for it. Hence the origin and the justification of her sway. This supremacy, which makes the seas safe, which stimulates industry and traffic, which spreads wide prosperity, and kindles the intellect, is the happiest moment of Greece and the most brilliant in the life of humanity. Athens no doubt does not stand alone in Hellas. All men labor and all think; but everything is attracted towards her,



DEMETER OF KNIDOS.

—genius, as well as power and wealth. At this centre the scattered rays are collected, and shine forth upon the world, a splendid radiance. Even before she was at her greatest height, a stranger, almost an enemy to her by birth, — Pindar, — celebrates “the city of genius,” the city “brilliant, immortal, violet-crowned, like the Graces and the Muses.”

Grandest of all the noble figures which crowd within her walls is Perikles. His enemies called him “the Olympian,” and not without reason; for he guided and restrained with sovereign wisdom this intelligent, excitable, mobile people, who in time of need could show a Roman constancy, who were guilty of many errors, but redeemed them by the great works of art and the great examples it has left us. A multitude elegant and intellectual, interested in art, in science, and in poetry; among whom wealth scarcely made a distinction of ranks, where education, the same for all, established none; — less a people than a popular aristocracy, and raised to this point of grandeur by its own genius, the result of its geographical position and of its history, and by institutions the most humane, the most truly liberal of the ancient world.¹ Let us suppose that Athens and the great Athenians were obliterated from history: how much of Greece is left?

I confess my love and sympathy for this splendid republic, which had factions and revolutions, but never civil wars or slave-revolts;² for this city, which its two great enemies, Philip and Alexander, could not hate; for this people, whose history opens at Marathon in a brilliant victory, and closes at Chaironeia with the eloquent cry of Demosthenes: “No, no, Athenians, you have not failed in defending, to the death, the liberty of Greece!” Let it

¹ There was in Greece, besides the principle of equality before the law (*ισονομία*), an actual law of *habeas corpus*. Demosthenes (*Against Timokrates*, 144) shows that, with two exceptions only, namely, — in the case of high treason, or of fraud against the State in the matter of farming out the taxes, — a citizen, even after the order to detain him in prison had been legally given, might be set at liberty if three of his fellow-citizens of the same class would give bail for him. In the case of treason against the State, nothing less than a decision of the popular assembly was required for making an indictment (Hyperides, *For Euxenippos*, 6; ed. Didot). The domicile of the citizen was inviolable; no one could enter without being accompanied by a magistrate (Demosthenes, *Against Androtion*, 50). On one occasion letters from Philip to Olympias had been intercepted, but the assembly forbade opening them, being unwilling to violate the correspondence of a husband with his wife (Plutarch, *Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα*, 3).

² There was one revolt of slaves, purely local, and one civil war, — that which was brought on by Thrasyboulos; but was this not really a national war, since behind the Tyrants stood Sparta?

never be forgotten that this much-accused people treated their slaves gently,¹ made the stranger welcome, and on certain days set prisoners at liberty, that they might share in the merry festivals of Dionysos.² The guilty were put to death, but they were not put to the torture;³ to the exile was left his property, and to persons guilty of certain forms of manslaughter⁴ an opportunity to escape before condemnation. To the aged and the infirm, to the disabled soldier, Athens secured a support, and gave the country as a mother to children whom war had made orphans.⁵ "Let the archon eponymos," says a law quoted by Demosthenes, "take care of orphans, of heiresses, and of widows." Better still,—"in the market-place at Athens," says Pausanias, "the Athenians, alone among all peoples, have built an altar to Pity, whereon suppliants may hang their fillets."⁶

¹ There was no reluctance at Athens to give citizenship to a slave. After the battle of Arginousai, all the slaves in the fleet received it (Hellanikos, in the Scholia to the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, 694). Andokides (*On his Return*, 23, Didot, p. 76) felicitates Athens on having often granted the πολιτεία, δούλοις ἀνθρώποις. In his oration *On the Chersonesos*, 47, Demosthenes proposes to associate as assistants to the treasurers of the State, public slaves, δημόσιοι, who shall render accounts of their administration. Euripides often reproduces these kindly feelings towards house-servants. When Alkestis is about to die, she takes each one of her slaves by the hand and says farewell.

² Demosthenes, *Against Androktion*, 68. Cicero (*De Offic.*, ii. 15) says that for an Athenian not to show the way to a stranger seeking guidance, was a punishable offence.

³ The most severe punishment at Athens was death, and that, as a rule, inflicted in the least cruel way,—by the poison of hemlock. To apply torture to a free man, a special decision of the assembly was required, says Dareste (*Plaid. polit. de Dém.*, ii. 301). Andokides (*Mysteries*, 43, Didot, p. 55) refers to a decree in the archonship of Skamandrios prohibiting the torture of a citizen. Antiphon was condemned to torture, followed by death; but this was after a decree had expelled him from Athens, and he had secretly returned, to burn the fleet (Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 133). In the oration *Against Pantainetos*, 41 (Didot, p. 507), of the year 346 B. C., Demosthenes makes objection to the system of seeking to ascertain the truth by the torture of slaves; but this is the only protest of the kind found in the Greek pleas.

⁴ Banishment, but not exile, involved the confiscation of property and for certain kinds of manslaughter the condemned person could escape by flight from the execution of the sentence.

⁵ See the *Menexenos* of Plato, *ad finem*; Aristotle, *Polit.*, ii. 6.

⁶ The Athenians, according to Isokrates, were considered the most gentle and compassionate of all the Greeks (*Antidosis*, 20). Plutarch says also (Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα, 3): ὁ Ἀθηναίων εὐκίνητός ἐστι πρὸς ὀργήν, εὐμετάδοτος πρὸς ἔλεον. See further (*ibid.*, 17, 8 and 9) the pathetic incidents which he mentions to the honor of Athens. We cannot, however, vouch for the truth of such a statement as this, that a senator in the Areiopagos was punished for having wrung the neck of a little bird which had flown to him for shelter, this act being regarded as indicating cruelty (Photios, *Biblioth.*, p. 1591, ed. of 1653). Still less can we accept the statement made by Athenaios (xiii. 21, p. 566), on the authority of Hyperides, that admission to the Areiopagos was refused to a citizen because he had been seen dining in an inn suspected to be a house of ill repute. But we may believe, on the word of Demosthenes, in the

The Athenians were indeed the favored people of "the goddess having many thoughts,"¹ who from the height of the Akropolis watched over her faithful city or inspired it; who mingled with the combatants but to moderate their fury; who held the spear only in the cause of right; who was the divine *Sophia*, born from the brain of Zeus, and also human wisdom revealing to sages the laws of the world, and was, moreover, the divine worker² who invented useful arts, who gave the olive-tree, and taught domestic virtues to the wife.³

The people were like their goddess, or rather — which is nearer the truth — the goddess was like her people. The most intellectual and the best of the Greek cities rightly had for Poliac and eponymous divinity the worthiest of the Greek Olympians.

On the day when the young Athenian, attaining his eighteenth year, received the weapons which he was to bear for his country's defence, he took this oath: —

"I will not dishonor these sacred weapons, and I will not desert my companion in the ranks. I will fight for all that is sacred and dear, alone or with many; and I will not give a diminished country to those who shall

condemnation of that Athenian whom the heliasts punished for having trafficked in the beauty of young Olynthian girls whom he had bought as slaves after the destruction of Olynthos by the Macedonians. Aristotle (*History of Animals*, vi. 24) mentions an octogenarian mule, in behalf of whom the Athenians made a decree that he should not be driven away by the grain-merchants when he came among their stores to feed. This fact is rendered probable by others that Plutarch relates in his *Life of Cato*: "The Athenians took care of the mules that had been employed for the temple of Athene; Kimon built a tomb for his horses victorious at Olympia, and Xanthippos for a dog that had swum after him as far as Salamis." The sage of Chaironeia ends by this very true remark: "Kindness goes much farther than justice." Unfortunately religious intolerance, that deadly foe of the mind, sometimes transformed this amiable Athenian population into a vindictive one. See Vol. II. pp. 477, 552.

¹ Πολύμητις (Homer, *Hymn*, xxviii. 2).

² Μηχανίτις (Pausanias, viii. 36, 3).

³ When this book appeared for the first time, in 1851, the work of the learned men who were giving the world a new science of antiquity had not yet reached the great mass of the public, and I surprised some readers by the unwonted respect I manifested for the fellow-citizens of Perikles, as well as by the severity, not at that time thought justifiable, with which I spoke of the sterile life of Sparta and of the aimless agitations of the last days of Greece. This historic preference caused me to receive from the authorities of the University a severe reprimand on my "temerity." Time has passed, since then, — "the great teacher," says Aischylos; and I find myself now with a very large majority. In Grote's great work, published a year after mine, it is said: "The Athenian empire, which, with all its defects, I believe to have been much better for the subject-cities than autonomy would have been. . . ." (ix. 279). Curtius also is very favorable to the Athenian democracy. In § 50 of the *Panegyric* of Isokrates is a magnificent eulogy of this city, "which has made the word Greek not so much the name of a people as the sign of intellect itself."

follow me, but a greater and stronger one. I will obey the magistrates and the laws, and if any one destroy these laws or will not obey them, I will be their avenger, alone or with my fellow-citizens; and I will honor the religion of my fathers. I take the gods to witness my words!"

And they kept this oath. Thanks to their system of military education and discipline, the Greeks, before the phalanx of Alexander and the Roman legion, were the best soldiers in the world.

After this, we cannot wonder that this people apotheosized themselves, or rather that they divinized the institutions which, in the fifth century at least, made them so great: a sanctuary was built to Demos and the Charites, the goddesses personifying gratitude.¹

IV.

Greece is loved for her poets, philosophers, and artists, and also because, first in the ancient world, she had as her ideal political liberty, secured by the complete development of the individual. The East knew only the calm and sterile unity of great monarchies subject to a single will, almost always of the same character, however different the individuals who wielded the sovereignty. Greece comprised as many independent States as Nature had given the country valleys and promontories well adapted for defence; and in almost all the cities the inhabitants accepted this servitude to religion and to constitutional law for the sake of one right,—that of themselves establishing the law to which they gave obedience.

The political life of the Greeks at the historic epoch was made of two ideas,—the independence of the city, and the equality of the citizens. They desired to have their city governed by the laws she herself made: this was autonomy; and that all the citizens should have the same rights: this was isonomy. In a state having these two aims, the man at first was lost in the citizen. To make the latter more important, the former was made less so, and would have been reduced to extreme insignificance if the philosophers had had their way,—even the most illustrious, Plato and Aristotle.

The social importance given to the citizen fortified in him the

¹ See, in the *Dict. des antiq. gr. et rom.* of Saglio, the learned paper of Haussoullier on the *Demos*.



PLAN OF THE AKROPOLIS OF ATHENS.

(From recent discoveries.)

sentiment of personal dignity, which placed him far above the servile populations of the East. It was a first step towards the great principle which Christianity was to introduce, — that of moral equality and of the brotherhood of man. The second was to be made by Rome when she gave citizenship to all her inhabitants; and her juriconsults said, following the Stoic philosophers: *Societas jus quodammodo fraternitatis in se habet*.¹ But the advance is so slow that this last sentiment still remains only a formula, which hinders neither the wars of classes nor those of nations.

The Hellenic city in which this great evolution began had only a small population, and made no effort to increase it. The sovereign assembly at Athens rarely numbered five thousand citizens, and from a phrase of Demosthenes we may conclude that a very few votes often decided an important question. "On the day of the election of the pylagorai," he says, "three or four hands were raised for Aischines, and he was thus invested with the authority of Athens."² A few men, attractive speakers, could then exercise a dangerous influence over these sovereign assemblies, called together sometimes on the spur of the moment, in which the members legislated, gave judicial decisions, and administered the law by means of a vote which might have been won by some trick, or called out by the excitement of the hour.

There was another danger. With a population so limited in number, these cities could not be the solid basis of an empire. Living isolated within the limits which the nature of the land gave them, they had outside allies or subjects, and they formed ties of hospitality; but jealous of their citizenship, which would have opened to the stranger the agora and the temples, they would neither give their Poliac divinities to the worshippers of other gods, nor their institutions to men reared under other laws. Athens and Sparta would have gladly destroyed, the one Megara, the other Argos; never would they have granted isonomy to these cities.³

¹ *Digest*, xvii. i. 2, 63.

² *Oration upon the Crown*, 149.

³ This is the reproach which Tacitus addresses to them: *quid aliud . . . exitio fuit . . . nisi quod victos pro alienigenis arcebant?* To this narrow idea of the city he opposes the Roman policy which *eodem die hostes, dein cives habuerit* (*Annales*, xi. 24). A Greek could only by special permission marry or hold property in another city. For the grant of citizenship there was required at Athens a first meeting of the people at which this title was granted "for signal services rendered to the Athenians," and a second assembly, where more than six thousand

This hostility between neighbors was a cause of continual wars. But we have no right to reproach the Greeks with their pugnacity, for, everywhere and at all times, mankind has obeyed this remnant of the animal nature of which it cannot rid itself, which causes it to love the act of destroying. In theory, the municipal *régime* seems the best of all forms of government, since it accords the most liberty to the individual; but in Hellas it never gave the Greeks the desire of living tranquilly around their temples and places of assembly.

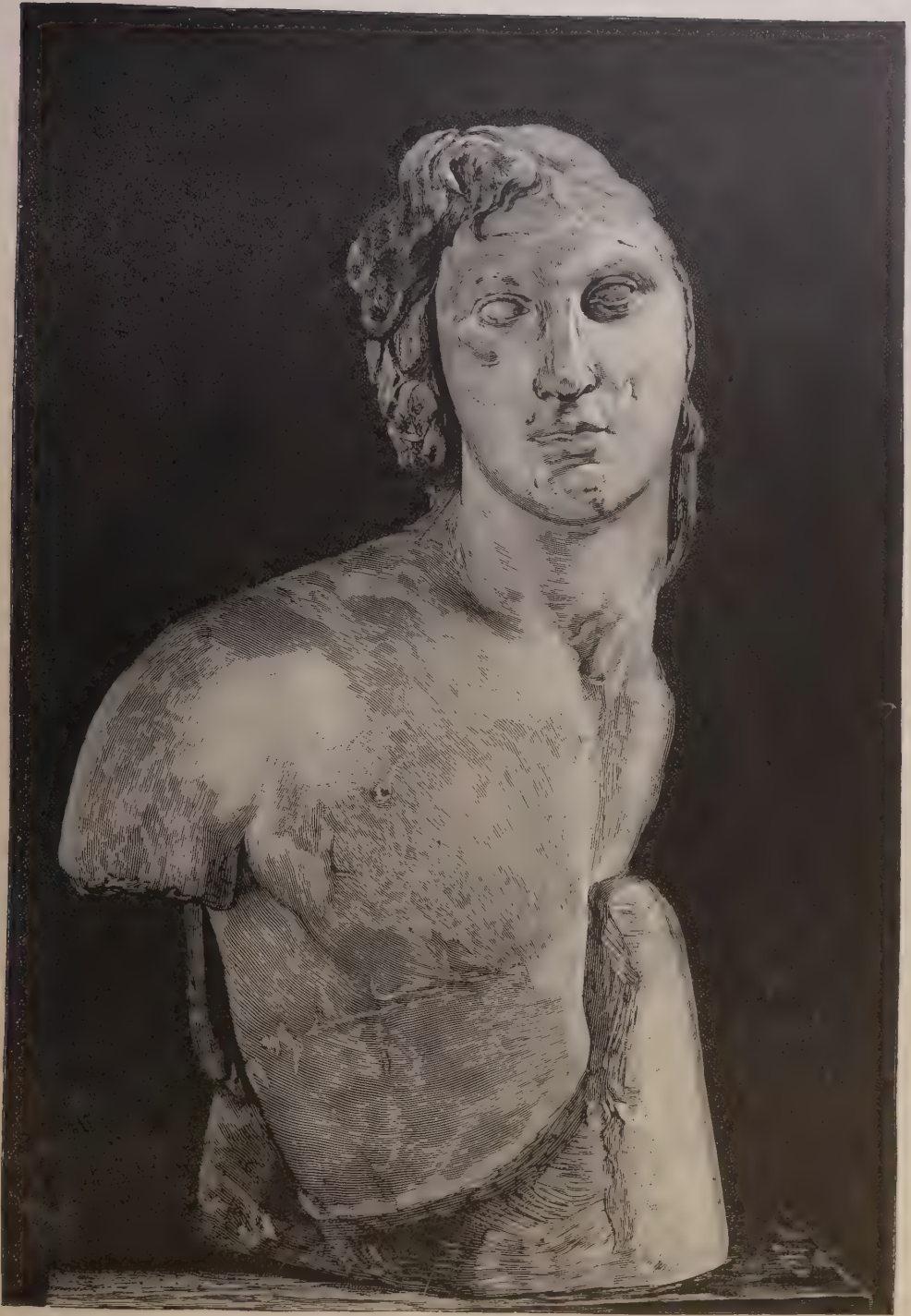
We, their heirs, lament these acts of violence which seem to us a crime against ourselves, because they diverted to the sanguinary work of war forces which might have been employed in the beneficent labors of peace. Civilization is, indeed, not a flower that grows amid ruins and in storms, but neither does it always unfold itself in calm and silence. The struggle of interests and passions develops the character; life is more energetic; the faculties become richer and more active. From these little cities, distracted and turbulent, came forth many a marvel of art and thought.

Aristotle says: "Greece has courage and intelligence; if she were united, she would be capable of conquering the world."¹ He was right; twice, the Greeks united, when at Salamis eighty thousand of them and at Plataia a hundred and ten thousand vanquished the fleets and armies of Xerxes, and when, with the Macedonians, they made the conquest of Asia. But in the ordinary course of their historic life they knew only the civic form of government, and never, except for a moment in their latest days, did they adopt any other; so that Greece ceased to be itself when, with Alex-

citizens confirmed by secret ballot the favorable vote (Demosthenic Collection, *Against Neaira*, p. 724, ed. Didot).

¹ *Politics*, iv. 6, 1.

NOTE.— On the opposite page is represented a fragment of a marble statue discovered at Delos, and now in the Louvre (W. Frohner, *Notice de la Sculpture antique du Louvre*, p. 410, No. 448). This statue has long borne the name of Inopos, the god of the river of Delos, and some archaeologists still designate it in this way. It is believed that the figure, of which the back is left in the rough, was reclining, and occupied the angle of a pediment like other figures of river-gods; but we cannot regard this as certain. Why may not the statue rest against a wall? As to the name, M. Ravaisson seems to have had a happy inspiration in proposing that of Alexander; the head wears the royal fillet, and though not the exact portrait of the king, it would seem to be an idealized likeness. Another head, which has points of resemblance to the statue in the Louvre, has been recently discovered at Delos by M. Homolle (*Bull. de Corr hellén.*, vol. ix., 1885, pl. xvii. and p. 252), who regards it as unquestionably inspired by the portrait of Alexander.



ALEXANDER IDEALIZED.

ander, it became an empire. By the number and the independence of its cities it was fitted, in the time when its characteristic genius had free scope, to produce the most brilliant form of civilization; it was not adapted to establish a durable sway, and its independence was lost as soon as there arose around it powers organized for conquest or assimilation. Faithful to her oldest traditions, Greece was intoxicated with a mad delight on the day when the Romans proclaimed that every league was destroyed, every city made autonomous. The Greeks believed themselves free on the day when, for them, a servitude of twenty centuries began.

These little communities often saw the enemy at their gates, and, with him, wounds, slavery, and death. Hence the city, whose walls sheltered the family, the gods, and independence, was loved with an ardent affection; as in a besieged place, everything must be sacrificed to its safety, not merely a man's life, but also, which is often more difficult, his fortune. An inscription speaks of voluntary loans,¹ without interest; and patriotic gifts were frequent. Demosthenes mentions the strategos Nausikles, who furnished the pay for two thousand hoplites whom the State had left unpaid; two generals supplied their troops with eight hundred shields which were needed; others employed a part of their property in repairing the city walls. For a work of this kind, Demosthenes, who was not a rich man, gave voluntarily five talents, and for the theatre a hundred minai.² What was their reward? A wreath, which by decree of the people was bestowed in the theatre on the day of the Great Panathenaia.

These gifts ought not to surprise us: they sprang from the sentiment most energetic in these cities,—patriotism; but we find in them another sentiment,—charity,—which usually is not looked for there. The hour for the great charitable institutions which Christianity and philosophy have made so numerous had not yet come, because the social condition did not call for them. Demosthenes was not alone in redeeming captives, in giving dowries to poor young girls, and in being able to say, as in the oration *On the Crown*: “You know, Athenians that I have been always kindly,

¹ *Corpus Inscr. attic.*, ii 334.

² *Oration on the Crown*, p. 139 (Didot). See also above, p. 224, the decree proposed by Lykourgos in honor of Eudemos.

humane, ready to relieve every misfortune ;” elsewhere he takes pride in saying that he has never failed in the duties of philanthropy,¹ — a word which, though believed to be very modern, was current in Athens more than twenty-two centuries ago. Lysias speaks of a person who — in this case secretly — gave dowries, delivered prisoners, and buried the dead who lay unnoticed on the high-roads, without expectation of any reward.² How many others did the same ! If the allowance made to citizens who attended the public assembly and the festivals in honor of the gods had certain political disadvantages, it was, at first, assistance given to those who had need of it. The same is true as to the distributions of wheat made to the people from time to time, and also in respect to the repasts after great sacrifices of victims, when the gods required only the smoke from the altar. The gymnasia maintained by the State corresponded to our free schools ; Hippokrates advised the medical fraternity to accept no pay from those who could not give it without difficulty, while many cities furnished medical assistance gratuitously to their poor ;³ and Plato says : “ We must do ill to no man, not even to the wicked.”⁴

These sentiments are the noble side of Greek municipal morals. We may further say that in these communities property and the family rested on better foundations than in the East ; but systems of laws made solely for the State guaranteed but imperfectly the protection of property and the security of the individual.⁵ The citizen belonged to the community, which disposed of him as it pleased ; so that the interests of each being subordinated to those of

¹ In the oration *On the Affairs of the Chersonesos*, 70, where he recalls his services: *καὶ τριηραρχίας καὶ χορηγίας καὶ χαρίζεσθαι εἰσφορὰς, καὶ λύσεις αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τοιαύτας ἄλλας φιλανθρωπίας.*

² xix. 59.

³ *History of Rome*, v. 425. Citizens also undertook a superintendence of the schools. See Vol. II. p. 650, of this work.

⁴ *Republic*, i. 9. These sentiments again find expression in imperial Rome ; see *History of Rome*, chap. lxxxiii. sect. 4, and chap. lxxxiv. sect. 6.

⁵ At Sparta, as in Plato's *Republic*, the State was, so to speak, sole father and sole proprietor. This was never the case at Athens. Aristotle, who looks at the legal aspect of every case, considers ownership only as a fact, and regards possession as its origin, however obtained. He derives it from the law, from agriculture, from pillage, — *νομαδικός, γεωργικός, ληστρικός* (*Polit.*, I. iii. § 5). And in this he offended no principle of his time. Solon regarded as legitimate an association for brigandage ; and it often happened in Greece that the law decreed a new division of lands, the abolition of debts, a prohibition to sell, or other measures which would seem to us interference with rights of ownership.

the State, that which appeared useful to the latter became justice, even though to the former it might be injustice. Of one man the law made a soldier, whatever his age; of another, the commander of a galley, which he must fit out at his own expense; of a third, though guiltless of crime, an exile. No man could resist this claim of the State, not merely as regards military service and fiscal charges, but also for the education of youth: the State would have the body and soul of its children, much more their property.

In the aristocratic times, the Eupatrids, being alone taken into account, were alone in having any obligations, — as, in the Homeric times, the heroes drew upon themselves all the stress of the battle. Inheriting this ancient custom, most of the Greek cities had it as a principle of their financial organization that a part of the public expenses should be at the charge of the rich. Solon, for example, without making much change in the old order of things, laid heavy taxes upon the members of the higher classes; but, in return, he secured to them political privileges. With time, the burdens increased and the privileges disappeared. Every citizen, even the poorest, might attain public office by lot, and as a result of the frequency of wars and the increasing magnificence of the festivals, the *leitourgiai* and *choregiai*, reserved to the rich, imposed expenses daily heavier. If it was decided to fit out a fleet, immediately into the public assembly came demands for a reduction of taxes; the temple of Artemis was crowded with those who had passed for rich men, now eager to avoid the burdens of the trierarchy, and the prisons with luckless citizens dragged thither by the inspector of the marine because they had not furnished the new sails needed for their galley.¹

Sophokles and Sokrates spoke well of “the unwritten laws” which Nature has placed in the human conscience; systems of government, even the best, could only make the State the supreme arbiter of good and evil, so that in the Greek cities justice was often absent, as true liberty always was. Aristotle depicts the democracy as everywhere busy in levelling men’s fortunes by ruinous fines and confiscations; and in fact for many agitators, — for these “blunderers,” as Polybios calls them, τοὺς καχέκτας, — the end of all political endeavor was to put under, that

¹ Demosthenes, oration *On the Crown*. See also Vol. III. p. 656, note 1.

which had been above. Thus Messina divides among the populace the property of the rich; Kleomenes at Sparta, Nikokles at Sikyon, do likewise. As it is only the dead who are sure not to return, a demagogos of Chios causes to be put to death those whom he plunders; Nabis does the same wherever he is master. The Aitolians and the Thessalians abolish debts; the Chiotes have another scheme of social economy: when the government has need of money, it decrees that all private debts be paid to the State; elsewhere, their jewels are taken from the women, their harvests from the farmers; and even in Athens there are many who think that an illegal confiscation is not a resource to be disdained.¹

The consequence of this financial servitude of the rich, and the dangers menacing property, was that landowners and capitalists too often showed themselves, in a world become commercial and industrial, the natural enemies of old customs and the political systems which consecrated them. Hence plots, revolutions, sentences of exile or confiscation, and banished men forever making armed incursions upon the city which had driven them out.² It was well made a part of the official oath of the heliasts in Athens: "I swear never to permit the abolition of debts, nor the division of lands and houses."³ And in truth these revolutionary measures were not decreed in the city of Athene, where commercial prosperity depended on the faithful execution of contracts; but how often the *sykophantai* of that city destroyed ancient and legitimate fortunes by the most unfounded accusations!⁴ When these disturbances became frequent, the old ideas of devotion to the city

¹ Lysias, *Against Nikomachos*, 22; Polybios, vii. 10; xv. 21; fragm. 68; Aristotle, *Economics*, ii. 9. He mentions this as having been practised at Byzantion, Chios, Klazomenai, Ephesos, Pontic Herakleia, and Lampsakos.

² Isokrates said to Philip that he would find in Greece, for his expedition into Asia, as many soldiers as he might require, because there were so many exiles, among whom it was easier to raise an army than among citizens (*Philip*, 96, ed. Didot, p. 65).

³ Westermann questions the authenticity of the ὅρκος ἡλιαστῶν, but without convincing either Dareste or Weil, who maintain it, — the one in his translation of the *Oration against Timokrates* (*Plaidoyers politiques de Démosthène*, i. 104 and 184); the other in his Greek edition of Demosthenes, series ii. p. 137.

⁴ The natural vice of the demagogy is envy and suspicion, which, when it rules the tribunals, finds expression in judicial spoliations. Aristophon of Azenia was prosecuted seventy-five times for proposing decrees contrary to the laws, γραφή παρανόμων; but it is just to add that he was never condemned (Aischines, *Ctesiphon*, 194). Demosthenes was not so often cited before the tribunals; but Aristogeiton alone prosecuted him seven times, and he had often to defend himself against others.

were lost; alliances contrary to the genius and to the interests of the people were contracted; and as these innovations came in a time when all things were shaken, — religion, patriotism, and the civic virtues, — the State, no longer standing firm on its ancient foundations, crumbled and fell.

The Greeks had, like ourselves, two other kinds of property. — the public domain, differing in extent in different cities, and property belonging to the temples, the latter often of great value, but not always respected; for instance, the treasures of Delphi were pillaged by the Phokians, those of Olympia by the Arkadians, and more than once certain portions of the sacred possessions were secularized. In case of necessity the State borrowed from the sanctuary, and becoming a debtor to its gods, paid them the interest on these loans, but at times neglected to return the principal. The State being the superior authority, this property of the temples was endangered by the vicissitudes in public events; and politics determined all things in the temple as in the agora.¹

In another respect, the organization of the family, the Greeks give us nothing. Too near Asia, they did not allot to woman,² in the historic age, a condition greatly superior to that which we find in Nineveh and Babylon. Her one duty was to be the mother of legitimate children, who would continue the family and the domestic sacrifices; nothing more was asked of her, and the noble women of the Homeric times — Alkestis, Andromache, Penelope — were altogether forgotten. The Greek women were not certainly all of them companions of the Lysistrata of Aristophanes, but none gained the respect of a whole city, like the mother of the Gracchi; and although the *gynaikaion* was a great advance upon the harem, the Greek wife was never the Roman matron, and still less “the virtuous woman” of Scripture.

¹ Private life did not escape this omnipotence of the State. Many Greek cities prohibited celibacy. Sparta punished not merely him who did not marry, but even the man who married late. The State had the power to prescribe at Athens industry, and at Sparta idleness. Its tyranny extended to the smallest matters: at Lokris the law forbade men to drink pure wine; at Miletos and at Marseilles the same prohibition was made to women. It was customary for dress to be strictly determined by the laws of each city; the legislation of Sparta regulated the women's head-gear, and that of Athens forbade them to carry more than three changes of attire when on a journey. At Rhodes no man might shave; at Byzantium none might even own a razor, under penalty of a fine; while at Sparta the law forbade wearing the mustache. — FUSTEL DE COULANGES: *La cité antique*, p. 265.

² See in Vol. III. p. 418, a quotation attributed to Demosthenes.

Great as is our admiration, then, for ancient Greece, in politics we can learn from her nothing, except it be to avoid the faults into which she fell; between her and our modern world the distance is too great.

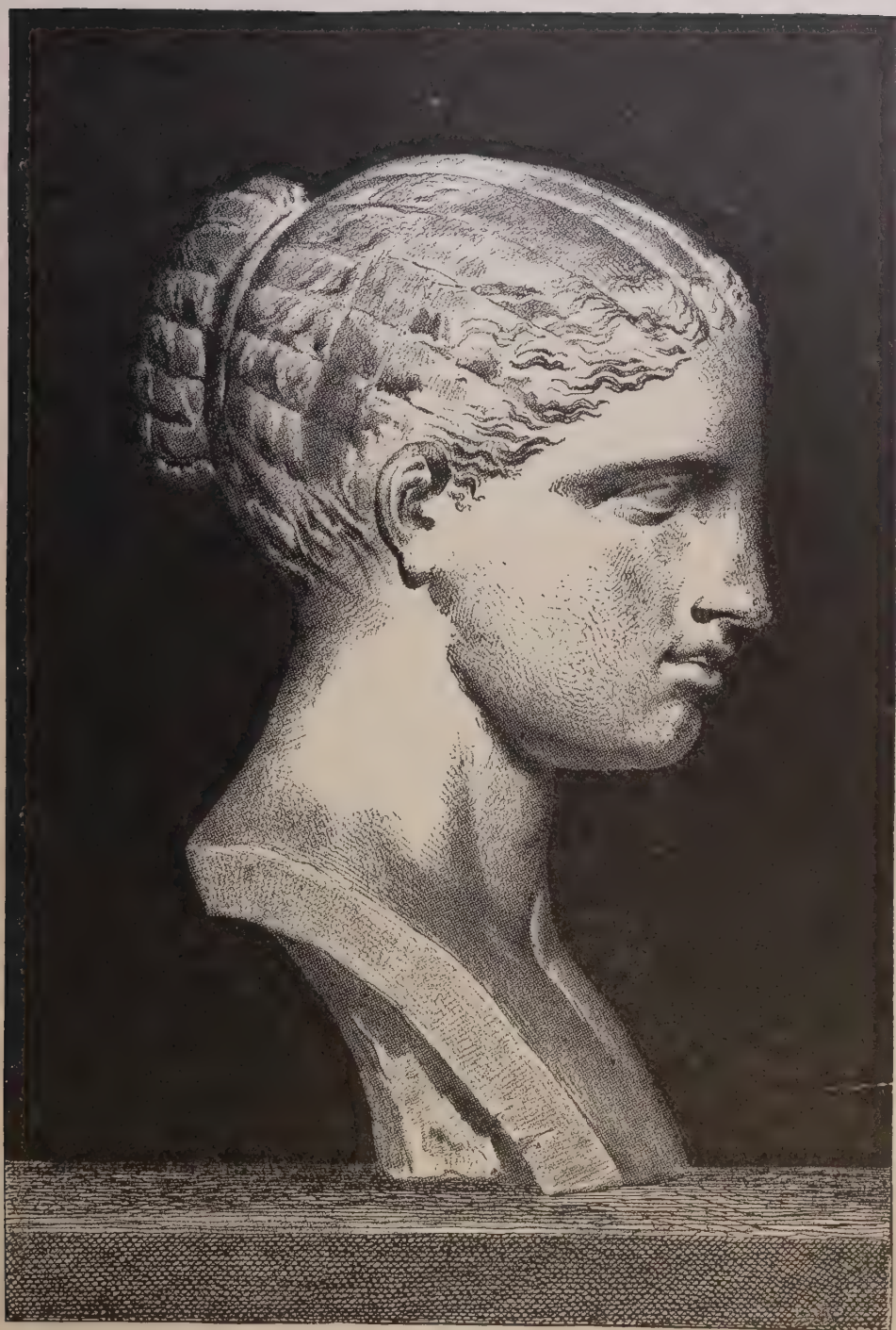
V.

To the political causes which proved fatal to Greece were added the moral causes which destroyed her old ideal, without giving her a new one.

The fact must be acknowledged that the impulse given to men's minds by the age of Perikles—that golden age of the human intellect—opened the way into unknown regions where Ancient Hellas was lost. Therein were found noble inspirations for art and thought; but then appeared, with a strength hitherto unknown, philosophy, the rebellious daughter of polytheism, who sought to account for the world and for mankind, never explained by the old myths. Born near the temples which she was one day to overthrow,—for children like her destroy their own mothers, as plants which grow in the crevices of old walls at last cause them to crumble,—philosophy early manifested hostility to positive religion.

Nor was this ancient religion adapted to become a rule of morals. In Nature there is neither good nor evil; only the play of physical and chemical forces. The ancient peoples, living too near to Nature not to undergo her influence, had religions which, by an expressive barbarism, have been called the cult of Nature *naturans*, or of the material forces, and that of Nature *naturata*, or of the phenomena under which these forces manifest themselves. Hence the monstrous conceptions of Egypt and of Asia, the sacred prostitution of Babylon and Corinth, the strange symbols seen in Athenian streets and carried in procession by Athenian maidens. Hence also these peoples, without hesitation,

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented a head in Parian marble, in the Glyptothek of Munich (H. Brunn, *Beschreibung* . . . , 5th ed., No. 89, p. 113). It is here given from the *Monum. de la sculpt. gr. et rom.* . . . , published by Brunn and Bruckmann. It is one of the most beautiful antiques in the Glyptothek.



HEAD OF A GREEK WOMAN.

attributed to their gods the most shameful passions, so that polytheism obscured the idea of right and legitimated wrong by the example of those who were sometimes, and should have been always, the ideal of goodness. Then, by a parallel development, but in opposite directions, of the divine legends and of human reason, it came about that Greek polytheism found itself in that condition, fatal to any cult, when religion was on one side, and morality on the other. The latter attacked the former, and conquered it; the gods fell from Olympos, and grass grew in the courts of the temples. This would have been well, had the legends of these dethroned divinities been replaced by noble teachings, fitted to enlighten and purify the human mind. Such instruction was found here and there, in the words of poets and of philosophers; but the crowd did not listen, given over to the degrading superstitions in which, for weak minds, great faiths end at last.

In expelling the gods from Olympos, philosophy went outside the circle of the vulgar beliefs; she also, by her teaching went beyond the narrow limits of the city. Above man, she beheld humanity; above the State, the world. And we have reason to fear that she aided in the destruction of patriotism, as in the destruction of the gods, by the very fact that she rose to purer ideas as to the divinity and true virtue. The noble saying of Marcus Aurelius, "I am a citizen of the world," is from Sokrates,¹ or one of his disciples; another school will go so far as to deride the patriotic sentiments of an earlier day. "Let us give ourselves no care about saving Greece," says the Epicurean, Metrodoros, "nor to gain civic wreaths. The only wreath to be desired is that of wisdom." Yes, certainly, for the individual; but not for the citizen, who ought to have besides a very frenzy of self-sacrifice.

In its turn, poetry popularized the sceptical deductions of the philosophers. Epicharmos and Aristophanes, by their sarcasms, utter the cry which Lucretius heard in Rome: "The gods will die!" And so, in the terror caused to the peoples by the silence of Heaven, and the darkness Sophists collect around questions once easily answered, the unreasoning crowd strike down even those who

¹ Ὁ Σωκράτης . . . οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐδὲ Ἕλληγ', ἀλλὰ κόσμος εἶναι φήσας . . . (Plutarch, *Concerning Exile*, 5; Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, v. 37). Diogenes the Cynic repeats the word: κοσμοπολίτης (Diogenes Laërtes, vi. 63); it had been already spoken by Demokreitos, and later we find it in the teachings of Zeno.

hold up the torch of the future. Athens drives out Anaxagoras, and will have Sokrates drink hemlock; but it is a cruel and sterile triumph of intolerance. All is over; the gods go from them, and, unhappily, the new God has not yet come. Meanwhile, a great genius seems to perceive him. Many verities belonging to the faith of the future are announced by Plato. Only a few comprehend them; the others hear and understand only those teachers who cry out that there is doubt concerning everything, — heaven, patriotism, virtue, — and that a man should believe only in chance and in pleasure. Then love of country fails, morality is lost, the cities sink beneath the load of corruption; and Greece, exhausted, dying, after a century and a half of civil wars perishes noiselessly, under foreign rule, — “for lack of men,” Polybios says vigorously (ὀλιγανδρία).¹

VI.

The splendid period in the life of Greece lasted but a hundred and fifty years, — from the victories of the war of independence to the battle of Chaironeia, where Hellenic liberty found its grave. This interval is filled with the duel between Sparta and Athens, in which Thebes at last took part, with warfare incessantly renewed, with a great destruction of men and cities. Nevertheless this time, so short, sufficed to make Greece the Holy Land of civilization: there human thought was born.

But why was this greatness so transient? We have indicated the principal causes of its rapid decline: we shall now speak of its instruments; namely, two Greek peoples, — the Spartans and the Macedonians, — and a foreign race, the Romans. The latter, when they appeared on the eastern side of the Adriatic, found in Greece, properly so-called, only cities incapable of defending themselves. Against Hannibal they had sent into the field twenty-three legions: four were enough to overcome the difficulties offered by the network of Macedonian mountains and the warlike energy of the soldiers of Perseus.

¹ “Marriage is given up,” he says, in book xxxvii. 4; “men will rear no children, even those born out of wedlock, or at most one or two, as heirs; if illness or war carry off these, the house is solitary, and the city an abandoned hive.”

The eighteenth century admired Lacedæmon only, won over as it was to the paradox of Rousseau as to the superiority of the man of nature, and the necessary supremacy of the State. But the Spartans, who, according to the fabulous genealogy of Hellen, called themselves the eldest-born of the nation, were always an exception in Greece. Nothing of all that made the Greek character — the love of art, harangues in the agora, philosophic discussions in the schools — interested them. With their limited ownership of property, they had but a restricted liberty, — if indeed they were ever free as we now understand the word. The ancients admired, and our Utopians have also admired, the great things that were to be found in the unwallèd city on the banks of the Eurotas, — the sobriety, the discipline, the contempt for passions, for suffering and death. The Spartans knew how to obey and to die. If a people have no other duty than to live from day to day, without care for the morrow or for the world outside, absorbed in self-adoration and in the practice of certain virtues, Sparta fulfilled her duty. But if every people is accountable in the presence of history for its efforts to add its stone to the edifice which humanity builds for itself, Sparta — a mere machine of war, an instrument of destruction which at last destroyed itself — has no answer to make when we ask what was her share in the common labor, what work did she bequeath to the world. Musicians and poets indeed lived for a time in Sparta, — the Kretan Thaletas, Alkman of Sardis, Terpan-dros of Lesbos, Polymnesios of Kolophon, Sakadas of Argos, even the Athenian, Tyrtaios; but they all were natives of other cities, and no one of them was a welcome teacher among this people, where only military valor was honored. And of her citizens, what did Sparta make? Slaves of the State, having only the deceitful right of choosing their masters, as has been the case in another age when the activity of the social life was not greatly cared for.

One half of Greece was flourishing in a tranquil prosperity, under a rule as yet sullied by no violence, when Lacedæmon began the fatal Peloponnesian war. Victorious, — thanks to the ill-judged Sicilian expedition, to Median gold, and to the accident of battle, — she destroys the city which has been for a hundred years the honor of Hellas, its sword and shield. And then how ill she bears her

prosperity ; what violence, what bloodshed, and in the end what a disgrace, in that treaty of Antalkidas where the descendants of Leonidas, kneeling, receive the orders of the Achaimenid king !¹

It is not Athens only which falls in this struggle, — all Greece totters ; Sparta herself is threatened with ruin, for soon Epameinondas attacks her at Leuktra and Mantinea. But these are profitless victories also ; like the bee, which, it is said, leaves its sting in the wound and dies, Thebes does not survive her triumph. Then all is ended. From this great field of carnage which death has reaped during three quarters of a century, a pestilential miasma rises which takes form, and has been called, in a previous chapter, “condottierism.” Mercenaries invade and corrupt everything. They make the result of a war, the destiny of a State, depend on an obolos more or less in their pay ; and, as the last misfortune of all, they produce tyrants. Greece is then like the palace of Odysseus : the suitors will not depart ; they insult the grief of the son and of the faithful servants. Penelope is in desolation and grief ; she awaits Odysseus, but Odysseus will not return. The resounding bow will never be drawn by his powerful hand to slay the suitors. It is they who will triumph.

The assembly at Corinth repeated the tale, so often a reality, of the horse who wished to be revenged on the stag. To glut its hatred of two hundred years against the great Eastern empire, Greece threw herself into the arms of Macedon. But then occurred a phenomenon rare in history and fruitful in grave results, — two men of remarkable ability following one another on the same throne, Philip, who organized Macedon and disorganized Greece ; Alexander, who ruined them both, while believing that he had founded a new Hellas in the East.

Becoming masters of the immense wealth that the Great Kings had hoarded in their palaces, the successors of Alexander bought

¹ See in the *Andromache* of Euripides, 445–449, the violent imprecations of the poet against the tortuous policy and the perfidy of Lacedæmon : —

ὦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχθιστοι βροτῶν
 . . .
 ψευδῶν ἄνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν,
 . . . ἀδίκως εὐτυχεῖτ' ἂν Ἑλλάδα.

“O most odious of mortals ! . . . kings of lies, artisans of frauds, without justice do you prosper in Greece !” We may, however, remember that this was written in Athens, and during the Peloponnesian war.

up everything in Greece. Whoever felt that he had courage, ability, or ambition, deserted the old city to become a soldier of fortune, the courtier of a king, or the minister to royal profligacy. Athens had been so brilliant in her great days because men came from every land to seek from her inspiration, or her recompense of fame. It is towards the Hellenized countries of Asia and Africa that life now is attracted;¹ it is there that pleasure and wealth are found. A poet of this sad epoch says: "A man's country is the place where he lives most comfortably."

VII.

What, after all, is the place of Greece in the general history of humanity?

In the vast plains rendered fertile by the sun of the tropics and watered by great rivers, man finds readily an abundant supply of food. But this sun burns and enervates, these rivers in their freshets sweep away forests and cities, this indulgent nature is sometimes agitated by terrible convulsions. Everything is in an extreme, evil as well as good; and man, by turns terrified and fascinated, abandons himself to the charms as well as to the terrors which surround him, and allows himself to be unresistingly borne onward. Swayed by this physical fatality, unable to react successfully against this external world which exercises over him so powerful an influence, he recognizes his weakness; he avows it, and these formidable forces of nature became for him imperious divinities, who have in priests and kings their immutable representatives.

In Greece the phenomena of the external world have no such dangerous mastery over man. The air of the country is stimulating, the winter at times severe, the soil arid rather than fertile. Instead of limitless plains where the eye loses itself and the steps go astray, where plants as well as animals grow to colossal proportions, Greece

¹ In the satrapies of Upper Asia alone, twenty-three thousand Greeks rose in insurrection after the death of Alexander. How many were there in the other provinces, and how many perished in that ten years' war? At the battle of Raphia, between the armies of Egypt and of Syria (217 B. C.), there were among the combatants sixty or seventy thousand Greek mercenaries.

is only mountains and valleys: everywhere the sea, gulfs, and harbors; everywhere peninsulas, promontories, and islands.¹ Nowhere occurs more happily the fruitful union of land and ocean. All things are limited to harmonious proportions, and a thousand diverse influences act instead of one, imperious and immutable, as if to leave man his liberty of action. Thus he struggles vigorously to dispute with the wild beasts a precarious subsistence in the heroic times, and then with neighboring tribes, later to demand from the earth its fruits, from the sea its riches. Obligated constantly to rely on his own strength and intelligence, he develops these qualities, and takes pride in their employ. Far from identifying himself with Nature, far from believing, like the Hindu, that he is an accident, an ephemeral emanation of the god-universe, soon to be again absorbed in the central life from which he is for the moment separated, he stands erect in the face of creation, and if he consents to worship the forces of Nature, it is on condition that they accept some of the conditions of humanity, and that, at need, he can even oppose them. Thus in Homer, Diomedes wounds Aphrodite, Aias dares to contend with Ares.

Among a people who, with the poet, extolled this audacity of their heroes, the religious sentiment was losing much of its power; but there profited thereby another sentiment unknown in the East, which, later, philosophy developed, — that of moral liberty and of the dignity of man. In the Oriental theogonies, man not belonging to himself, all actions are matters of indifference, and good lies in submission, evil in disobedience to certain arbitrary prescriptions. In declaring himself free he becomes responsible and a moral agent. This is the immense step that the Greek mind caused the world to make. Twenty-five centuries have not sufficed to exhaust all the

¹ Cuvier writes thus in his *Éloge de Werner*: "Sheltered by the low, calcareous mountain-ranges, unequal in height, having many ramifications, abounding in springs of water, which diversify the surface of Greece and Italy, — in those delightful valleys, rich with all the products of Nature, grew philosophy and the arts. It is here that the human race has seen the birth of the geniuses in whom she took greatest pride: while the vast sandy plains of Tartary or Africa retain their population always in the condition of wandering and savage shepherds." It may be said that Nature never changes, and yet populations do change; and with the ancient Greeks may be contrasted those of later times. But one other element must be taken into account; namely, historic circumstances. If Darius and Xerxes had conquered at Marathon and Salamis, despotism would have made of ancient Greece the same that the Byzantine emperors, and after them the Turks, made of the Greece of the Middle Ages and of the centuries following, down to the era of independence.

consequences of these two principles, — personal morals and individual liberty. For this reason there are, under an apparent diversity of forms, only two civilizations, — that of the East, where fatalism in doctrines and despotism in government prevail, which is immutable, though empires rise and fall; and that of Greece and of modern Europe, which is movement itself, because it is dependent upon liberty.

It is not, as some envious Roman once said, because Greece produced great and ingenious writers that she enjoys an immortal fame. That little country changed, in the moral order, the poles of the world. The East produced sages, but below them the populations were only a flock docile to the master's word. In Greece humanity for the first time was conscious of itself; man took full possession of the faculties with which Nature had endowed him; there was kindled the torch which still lights up Europe, — a torch which Europe in turn carries into the new and into the old world, that ancient Oriental world which she has, so to speak, re-discovered.

The creator of the Syracusan drama, Epicharmos, said, twenty-four centuries ago: "The gods sell all good things at the price of labor." Upon this principle Greece acted, in turn receiving all the gifts of Heaven, with this, of putting measure, order, harmony into all the subjects of art and thought. Apollo counselled the Greeks to this, bidding them inscribe upon his temple the famous formula, "Know thyself," wherein all philosophy is contained; and this other, "In all things moderation," which is one of the great rules of composition in literature and the arts.

But let us go more into detail.

In *religion*, Greece was at once sterile and fruitful. Inheriting, not the severe and sober genius which a part of the Semitic race found in its deserts, but that love of the marvellous which in India clothes the religious idea with the thousand embroideries of a tireless imagination, the Greek saw in each phenomenon of nature a supernatural power, and lived at first, alarmed and timid, in the midst of a world which seemed to him full of divinity. Later he gained courage to represent these forces as divine personages, animating them with his own passions, mingling them with his own history, and poetry took possession of them, constituting that polytheism where the form takes the place of the idea, — the latter poor and confused,

the former elegant and graceful. What would this mythology be, were it deprived of its splendid garment? Beautiful without ; within, nothing but ashes. Art only, in all its manifestations, found advantage in this system which appealed to the eyes, while never having any powerful influence upon the soul, and by degrees gave way before Science and Philosophy. These two forces dissipated men's terrors and diminished their worship, — the former by showing, under phenomena, laws ; the latter by bringing doubt, or reason, into the midst of all these dreams.

There is always in the world a certain amount of folly, its forms varying according to the epoch, as maladies differ in different climates. The madness of ambition is common in our time ; in the Middle Ages, those possessed by devils were numerous ; and the supernatural has always prevailed in the East, with its train of visionary prophets and pious charlatans, dupes of their own assertions. Rationalist though she was, Greece believed that her Poliac divinities did indeed dwell in the statues which were consecrated to them, so that patriotism had the force of a religion, and the oracles were to her a permanent revelation of the divine will. Fortunately, political wisdom made itself the interpreter of these responses of the gods, and neither the interests of the State nor public morals suffered thereby, excepting when intolerance, which is found in all religions, called for victims.

All this changed when the authority of the ancient cult diminished, when Alkibiades and his friends scoffed at the Mysteries, and the poets deprived the gods of their government of the world. To the ancients the hereditary transmission of crime and expiation had been an article of faith, and this belief had made the family and the State very strong, by the solidarity of kindred and of fellow-members of a community. When the Erinyes disappeared, with their serpents and their deeds of vengeance, when the thunderbolt of Zeus ceased to blaze, and Apollo's arrows were broken, all moral sanction being removed from life, there was nothing left but pleasure and the abandonment of oneself to all the caprices of Fortune. Under a sky become empty, or peopled only with metaphysical entities, the Greeks ceased to be citizens, ceased almost to be men. But for art, polytheism retained a fecundity which is not yet exhausted.

With religion were connected the great national games, at which every Hellene had a right to be present as a spectator or as a competitor. They were celebrated at Delphi under the eye of Apollo, of Zeus at Olympia, of Poseidon at Corinth; and security for the journey in going and returning was guaranteed by a "Truce of God" which suspended hostilities. This the Mediæval Church did, but the Greeks had done it before her.

Let us note also, since a reminiscence of the Middle Ages has made its way into this history of an ancient people, that we sometimes find in Greece sentiments that belong to the period of chivalry, — as when, for instance, the men of Eretria and of Chalkis made an agreement with each other that they would employ in their battles no projectiles, regarded by them as a coward's weapons because they delivered their blows from a distance.¹

In *politics*, the Greeks tried everything except the system of modern Europe, — representative government, — which was incompatible with the Greek and Roman idea of sovereignty, always directly and personally exercised. A monarchy, despotic or limited; a tyranny, violent or popular; an aristocracy, broad or narrow; a democracy wisely restrained, or an unbridled demagogy, — Greece saw and tried them all. She ended, in some States, by a limited democratic form, which gratified her inveterate instincts towards local independence, and by a government almost representative, which rendered union possible. This time, indeed, it was no longer under the imperious rule of one alone, a king or a State, as it had been in the time of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and of Philip, that a union was proposed, but under conditions of equality offered to all. Unfortunately, the revolutionary character at this time assumed by Sparta compelled the Achæians to have recourse to Macedon; and Macedon's intervention made a pretext for that of Rome.

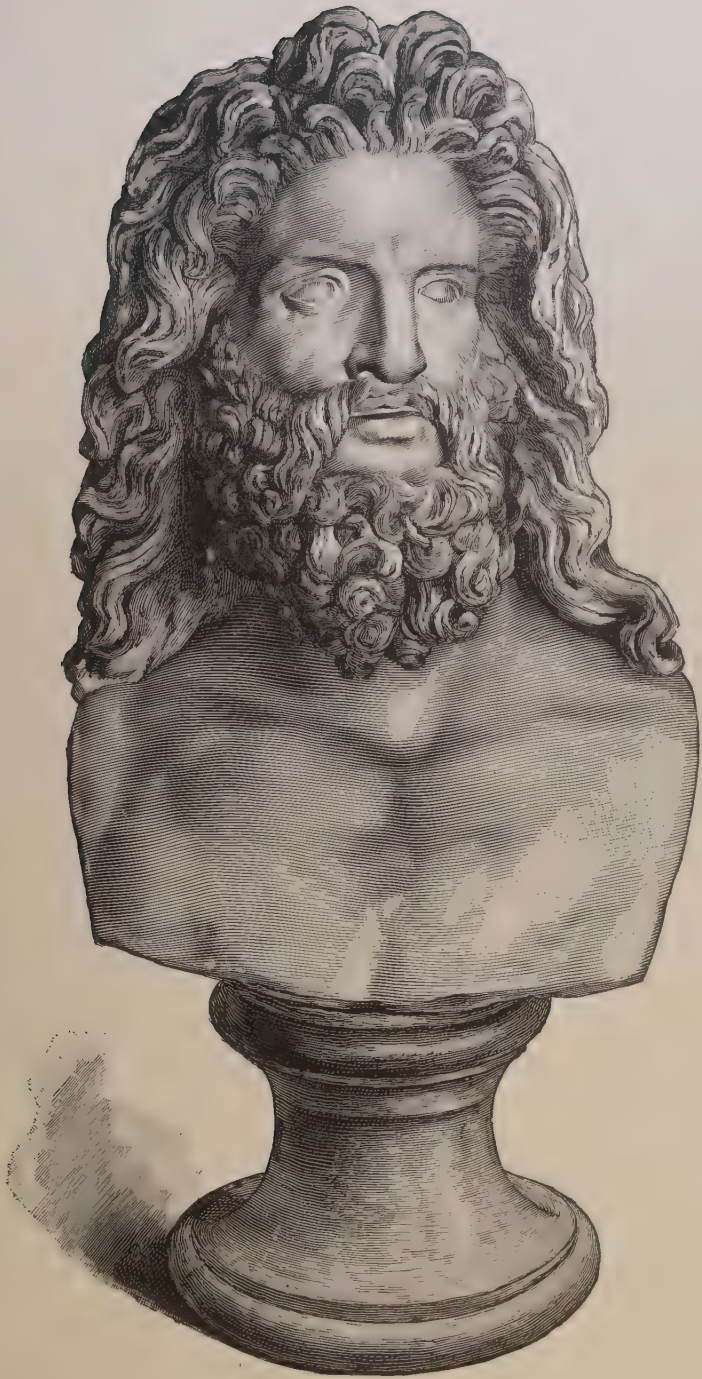
Legislation. — Greece and Rome are the two faces of the classic world, — the latter stern and severe, the former youthful and smiling. A close kinship may be recognized between the laws and customs of the two, no less than between their languages. In many respects the systems of Solon and of Servius are alike: in the Forum, as in the Agora, it is the assembly of the people which

¹ Strabo, x. 1, 12.

pronounces sentence in capital cases, and it is the presiding officer of the assembly who proposes the names of candidates for election. The Roman colony is like the *klerouchoi* of Athens; the Eleven remind us of the *Triumviri capitales*; the *isoteleia* obtained by an alien resembles the *jus civitatis sine suffragio*; the Greek *Hermi* are the *Termini* of Latium. In both countries the Manes are the dead purified by funeral rites; adoption, in case of the absence of a legitimate son, is almost a legal obligation; and the usage of the Magnesians and of the Kretans to send to Delphi first-fruits of everything in a consecrated season, is like the *Ver sacrum* of the Sabellians. Neither Greece nor Rome had any prosecuting officer of the State, and both, instead, accepted the services of the *delator*, — sometimes useful, but too often deserving his evil reputation. Many other resemblances may be found on a somewhat closer examination. The Athenian *timema*, as a basis of taxation, is like the Roman *caput*. The *Codex* preserves in the Greek text the edicts of Athenian legislation, and a great part of the Attic law was incorporated into the Prætorian Edict because, being less a slave to old juridic forms than the Law of the Twelve Tables, it approached nearer to equity, — the *aequum* and *bonum*. It might even be said that Aristotle has defined for us society, — “a community of brothers and equals;” this, at least, is our ideal, if it does not yet enter into our spirit and our actual practice.

Philosophy. — Since Greece had neither sacred books, nor a system of doctrines, nor a sacerdotal caste reserving dogma and science to itself, nor, in fine, any aristocracy limiting the field of thoughts, she left to her children the most complete liberty of development. Accordingly the Greeks established philosophy in its independence by separating it from religion, and they created human ethics by deriving them from the conscience. In this way they opened a wide horizon to the intellect. That which mere feeling and logic vaguely touched, reason boldly grasped, and with what power! Have twenty centuries added much to the philosophic discoveries of the Hellenes? If we represent to ourselves civilization as a wide road through a region of dangerous

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a colossal head in marble, found, it is believed, in Pompeii, and now in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph). It is interesting to compare this head with the Zeus of Otricoli, represented in Vol. III. p. 151. Cf. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, vol. ii. p. 62, No. 13.



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morasses, where sometimes humanity goes astray and is lost, we must place at the entrance of this road the statues of Sokrates, Plato, and Aristotle. All the philosophic movement of the world begins with them, and we are still occupied with the great questions which they raised,—one seeking what was essential in man; the second recalling us to the ideal; the third to science.

Everything has its law,—the insect, creeping invisible upon a grain of dust, as truly as the worlds which revolve in space; and life is measured out to the hyssop and to the cedar as well as to the star which shall one day become extinct. Man also has his law as regards the physical constitution with which nature has endowed him; he has also a law of the moral constitution which the age in which he lives, religions, and philosophy have given him, by evolving it from his higher nature. This latter law Sokrates and Aristotle have formulated, for the benefit of the State, as the useful sought in the good, which is indispensable to civic life; Plato, as the noblest rule for the individual,—*ὁμοίωσις τῷ θεῷ*; and Spinoza, after twenty centuries, repeats it: “A man must rule his life according to the idea of the Perfect Being;” that is to say, for those who cannot rise to the conception of the purely divine essence, it is necessary to conceive an ideal of human perfection, and strive unremittingly to approach it. The aim proposed by Platonism was pursued by a vigorous school, born amid the ruins of the Greek society whose spirit is expressed in this heroic phrase: “Do what you ought, and leave results to the gods.” In its second period the Stoic philosophy by its practical ethics formed noble characters; combined with the Christian spirit and modified by it, this philosophy was destined to make many more.¹

There was, nevertheless, a profound difference between the Hellenic conception of the world and that held by the Christian believers. The latter saw heaven chiefly; the Greeks fixed their eyes upon the earth, and their heroines, about to die, breathed no regret except that they were about to quit the sweet light of day.² The two were thus absolutely opposed to each other.

¹ See *History of Rome*, chap. lxxxi. sect. 3.

² There has been found pessimism in Greece; doubtless it did prevail there, for death is the condition of life, and despair has a poetic side in which the soul sometimes takes pleasure.

Hence the violent hatred that Christianity conceived for the old Olympos, although the followers of Plato had prepared a transition from their demiourgos to the Son of God. Without deserting the New Jerusalem, which sought to substitute the religion of the good for the religion of the beautiful, — the popular morality of the Gospel for the aristocratic morality of the Greeks, — we still look back towards Greece when we strive to render our life on earth more happy by righteousness, as Aristotle desired, and apply ourselves, still resembling him, to the discovery of the secrets of creation.

Sciences. — Bossuet, the last Father of the Church, has called the truths which science discovers the “Christianity of Nature,” and Aristotle says that it is his function to make us enjoy the harmony of the Kosmos. With the Greeks began the measuring of the earth and the numbering of the stars. They created astronomy, pure mathematics, geometry, and mechanics, — which Egypt and Chaldæa had but roughly sketched, — natural history, medicine, and hygiene.¹ The Eastern world had, it is true, preceded them in some of these researches, but without systematizing anything; and it is to the Greeks that we owe principles and methods, — that is to say, the real beginnings and the actual progress of the sciences. While it is true that they did not always walk with steady pace in the way which Hippokrates had opened to them, and to which Aristotle called them, they did at least mark out the road which alone can lead to a rational conception of the world and of the general order of things.²

Nemesis was long one of the most formidable divinities of the Hellenic Olympos (see Vol. I. pp. 356 *et seq.*). But the Greeks were lovers of action in politics, art, and science, and they could not aspire, like the Hindu, to eternal repose. India and Greece are at the opposite poles of moral life; and it was Christian ascetics who desired, like the followers of Sakyamouni, the most rapid annihilation of the terrestrial existence.

¹ A remarkable fact is the great age to which, in the entire possession of their faculties, many of the eminent men of Greece lived. We are obliged to except the military leaders who were cut off by war, such as Miltiades, Kimon, Alkibiades, Epameinondas, and Alexander; but Simonides, Pindar, Epicharmos, Pythagoras, Solon, Stesichoros, Anakreon, Sophokles, Euripides, Hippokrates, Sokrates, Plato, Xenophon, Isokrates, Kleanthos, Demokreitos of Abdera, and many others, died full of years and of genius. Nature gave them largely one of her most precious gifts, — time; and they aided Nature by a wise hygiene, by temperance, and by a well-regulated life.

² The Greeks, masters of the beautiful, were also masters of the true, whether, with Pythagoras, Euclid, Archimedes, they laid the foundations of geometry and mechanics; whether, with Aristotle, they founded natural history; with Hippokrates, the art of observing

Science, which is not without a poetry of its own, has been fatal to that of the ancient poets; it has killed the nymphs of land and sea, and all the gods of air, earth, and ocean. Nevertheless, they yet live, but are called, prosaically, the influence of the environment; and under that name have a greater power over men and States than ever was wielded by the radiant Olympians.

In *literature*, what splendor; how many styles created and carried to perfection, — the epic, elegy, and lyric, tragedy, comedy, history, the eloquence of the platform and of the bar, — when it was not placed at the service of Sophists like that Karneades who spoke one day in praise of justice, and on the morrow in praise of iniquity! And how durable its empire! Europe, since her intellectual revival, is still nourished by it. The Germanic literatures are of yesterday, if we except Shakspeare and Milton, who are not very old, and Goethe, sometimes so Greek, and Schiller, not always a Teuton. The Slavic literatures are but just born; the Scandinavian deserve no separate mention; but the Southern literatures, hitherto the most brilliant, have for masters those who are called the classic writers, and they for the most part speak the language of Homer, for the most illustrious Romans were only the followers of the Greeks. The Latin Muses are daughters also of the Hellenic Zeus, and sisters of the Delphic Apollo.¹

Thus, almost all secular literature is derived from Greece, as sacred literature from Palestine. From these two countries came the two great streams that have watered barbaric Europe.

In respect to the *arts*, Greece did even more. Lovers of form, and color, and of all that is the delight of the eyes, the Greeks were able to seize the fugitive moment of beauty and fix it eternally in marble and brass. Egypt, Assyria, and India have never known that flower of elegance which sprang up on the banks of the Ilissos, and lasted there so long. The Oriental productions which surprise, without delighting, by the enormous mass of materials and of adventures, or dazzle the mind and fatigue it by the infinite variety and the unnatural association of forms the most diverse, were

and interrogating; or whether, with Plato, the methods of discussion (Moleschott, *L'unité de la Science*).

¹ Fr.-Aug. Wolf estimates that classic literature contained sixteen hundred works, entire or mutilated, of which three quarters belonged to the Greeks; out of these, four hundred and fifty were anterior to Livius Andronicus, the most ancient of the Roman authors

brought back in Greece to the just and harmonious proportions of human beauty which are radiant with youth and life in the works of Pheidias and Praxiteles, as they are in those of Homer, Sophokles, and Plato. To the sculptor and to the painter, religion and poetry furnished a precious mine; and the manners and customs of the people, as well as their institutions, offered the strongest encouragements. "The epoch of republican liberty," says Winckélmann, "was the golden age of the arts."

Architectural beauty depends not merely on proportions and lines, but also on the aerial perspective and the harmony with surrounding nature. In Greece this offered sites most suited to receive the decoration of marble, of bronze, and of great sculptures. Hence Chateaubriand writes, with a poet's exaggeration: "If, after seeing the monuments of Rome, those of France appeared coarse to me, the monuments of Rome seemed to me barbaric after I had seen those of Greece." The soil of the country furnished the best materials, the climate preserved them, and instead of blackening them, as the Northern fogs blacken our edifices, it gave them the warmest and richest tints. To this we add that the sculptor and the painter had before their eyes the most beautiful race the world has ever seen, and that they found in the ambitious desire of each people to have their city more finely adorned than any of its rivals, the encouragement of which talent has need. Until the time of Alexander, artists worked for the State or for the conquerors in the Olympic Games, and very rarely for private individuals.

Thus in respect to plastic beauty we remain pagan, worshippers of the dead gods, slain by reason but restored by art to their immortality; what sculptors have we who are not pupils of the great sculptors of Athens, of Sikyon, or of Pergamon? And from London to Vienna, from St. Petersburg to Madrid, what architecture to the present day is not derived from Olympia or the Parthenon? What new art has the world created in two thousand years? The Middle Ages had the Byzantine dome which the East built,—and still keeps, on account of its climate,—and the pointed arch, the monumental expression of a society no longer existing,—hence itself of ephemeral character. Modern times have music—the youngest of the arts, complex though it now is—and painting, which would have found its models in antiquity if the works of Zeuxis and Parrhasias

had not perished. Is not, in truth, the great Platonic teaching, — that the true, the beautiful, and the good should be united and blended in one universal harmony, — still our own, notwithstanding the efforts of certain schools of brief duration ?

This worship of the beautiful, which was a second religion in Greece, was serviceable to its industries, capable as they are, in a part of their domain, of showing symmetry in form, and harmony in color. While the Phœnicians and the Carthaginians exported to the maritime cities of the western Mediterranean products simply useful, and manufactured articles in which there was not a trace of genius, the Greeks sold everywhere objects quite as much of artistic as of commercial value. Their pottery, their bronzes, even their coins, bore the stamp of a refined taste which survived in them the loss of liberty. When Athens was no more than a school of rhetoricians, and Corinth only a heap of ruins, the Greeks, becoming the dealers in art to the Roman world, saved, by their copies, the glory of the ancient masters. But because they had no vast empire like the Romans, they neither made military roads nor built triumphal arches, — the one a necessity, the other a pride to victorious nations, — nor were they familiar with the art of mosaic, the delight of the opulent class,¹ nor did they need aqueducts of colossal structure, as populous cities do ; and the amphitheatres whose ruins we admire, forgetting that their soil has been soaked in blood, are all Roman.

VIII.

Doubtless there are reservations to be made in our praise of Greek civilization : a poetic religion, but without moral influence ; the family imperfectly constituted ; the rights of property very insecure ; notwithstanding a mental development of great brilliancy, the moral nature often very dark, — in contrast with Rome, where the strength was generally not of intellect, but of character ; in the best days of the country, a lack of security, a frequent perfidy, and

¹ At least we know of no Greek mosaics in the time of independence ; but Pergamon and Alexandria were acquainted with this art, which passed over to Rome, and became of great importance during the Empire. See *History of Rome, passim*.

civil wars, with their usual results, — banishment, confiscation, and blood shed in torrents; in her evil days, a depravity so shocking that modern language has no words to describe it; and always and everywhere the open wound of slavery, with all the miseries which it brings. Many evils are those from which Greece suffered, and of which history makes mention. But as the distance broadens, and we look down from a greater height, these shadows lose themselves in the light: Demades disappears, Demosthenes remains; Alkibiades is effaced by Perikles; the Athens of Sophokles conceals that of Alexis, the city of Leonidas that of Nabis; and to Greek vices are opposed heroic and honorable friendships.¹ We count no longer the evils for which Greece paid so dearly in her laborious existence, we see only her great legacy to the world. “Remember,” wrote Cicero to his brother, “that you rule over the Greeks, who have civilized all nations by teaching them gentleness and humanity, and Rome owes to them the enlightenment which she now possesses.”²

Montesquieu was indeed right: “This antiquity enchants me, and I am always ready to say with Pliny: ‘You are going to Athens, — respect her gods.’”

Raphael, wishing to paint Greece, composed the immortal work, *The School of Athens*. Under those porticos, built by Iktinos or Pheidias, behold Sokrates laying the foundations of the dogmas of human morality; Plato and Aristotle opening to philosophy its two great paths; Pythagoras revealing the properties of numbers; Archimedes applying them; and the illustrious crowd who gather around the masters to receive and transmit their words. Give life to that masterpiece of the greatest painter in the world, and, like history, you will regard with love those heroes of thought, you will listen with rapture to their voices, musical or severe, and you will say that the ancient Greeks, notwithstanding their faults and their misfortunes, made the most glorious stage in the progress of humanity.

¹ Woman not holding in Greece the place she has been able to win for herself in modern society, there were formed, aside from her, many ties, differing in their character. Petrarch, himself almost a classic author, says, like many of the Sokratic school: “Friendship is the most beautiful thing in the world after virtue.”

² In the *Pro Flacco*, 26, 62, he says of Greece: *Unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges (agriculture), jura, leges, artes in omnes terras distributae putantur.*

It will be permitted me, in writing these last lines, to felicitate myself that my life has been prolonged sufficiently to enable me to complete a task, undertaken more than forty years ago, of giving to French historic literature two works which it lacked, —the history of the life of Rome during twelve centuries, and that of ancient Greece until the loss of her independence. Later, there will be better work done. I at least, in the measure of my ability, have opened the road, and have attested the gratitude which France, the most direct descendant of Rome and of Athens, owes to the two nations that have stamped her genius with an ineffaceable imprint. To-day, bending under the weight of years, but without taking leave of literature, the great consoler, I repeat the words of the aged Entellus, —

Hic caestus artemque repono.

¹ Marble statue in the Capitol (from Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 767, No. 1,894). It is impossible to determine the appropriate name for this statue. The left hand, with the serpent's head, and the right with the fragment of a spear, are modern restorations.



IMMORTALITY.¹

NOTE. — In closing this work, the Author desires to thank for their assistance — M. Babelon, of the *Cabinet de France*, for coins, which often establish facts, political, military, and religious, or are objects of art, and illustrate, by their diversity, the fecundity of the Greek mind ; and M. B. Haussoullier, of the *École des Hautes Études*, for engravings which show the masterpieces of European museums, and whose explanation has brought the archæological portion of this history to the level of the discoveries of the French School at Athens, which, though young, has done good work. Also to M. Salomon Reinach, of the Museum of Saint-Germain, is due a debt of gratitude for his kindness, which has been extremely serviceable to me, in making a final re-reading of the proofs.

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